Eight expert Indian teachers of English: A participatory comparative case study of teacher expertise in the Global South

by

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation, assignment, or report submitted to this university or elsewhere for a degree, diploma, or any other qualifications.

The following published study, conducted as part of the contextualisation research for this PhD, is reported on in this thesis and cited appropriately where necessary:

> Anderson, J. (2020c). The effective teacher of English: An exploratory qualitative study of Indian English teachers' beliefs. *ELTED, 23,* 10–20.

Jason Anderson

Abstract

This thesis reports on a comparative case study of teacher expertise involving eight teachers of English working in state-sponsored secondary education in varied contexts across India, each identified using multiple criteria. An original, participatory design involved a planning workshop prior to data collection to enable participants to contribute to the study's research questions and plan other outputs of use. Qualitative and quantitative data were analysed to identify similarities and differences both among participants and in relation to prior research on teacher expertise.

The findings document many shared features and practices among these expert teachers, which were usually less frequently observed among their colleagues, including well developed PCK and English proficiency, beliefs in building learner self-confidence, engaging learners and ensuring understanding of lesson content. In the classroom participants demonstrated warm, inclusive, supportive relationships with learners. Key similarities in pedagogic practices include the frequent use of interactive whole-class teaching balanced with regular learner-independent activities including both collaborative learning and active monitoring to provide differentiated individual support. Their professionalism was underpinned by extensive reflection, lifelong learning and care for their learners, whose opinions they valued most. Variation among participants was most evident in classroom practices, revealing clinal differences relating to their conception of subject and degree of control over classroom processes. While multilingual practices also varied, all participants were inclusive of their learners' languages and used them themselves.

Strong agreement with the findings of prior studies of teacher expertise was also found, although important differences include participants' prioritisation of inclusion and confidence-building over setting high standards, their focus on learner understanding over higher-order thinking skills and their varied strategies for helping learners assimilate content from highly ambitious curricula.

Implications for research on teacher expertise, particularly in the Global South, improving teaching quality in low-income contexts, and teacher education in India are explored.

Abbreviations used in this thesis

ARMS	Action Research Mentoring Scheme (British Council initiative)
ADHD	Attention Deficit and Hyperactivity Disorder (medical condition)
AINET	name of Indian English teacher association
ASER	Annual Status of Education Report (large annual survey run by Pratham)
AV	audio-visual (resources; e.g., data projector)
BA	Bachelor of Arts
CAQDAS	computer assisted qualitative data analysis software
CBSE	Central Board of Secondary Education
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference
CF	corrective feedback
CHESS	Continuous Help to the Teachers of English from Secondary Schools (Maharashtra teacher development initiative)
CISELT	Certificate in Secondary English Language Teaching
CLIL	content and language integrated learning
CLT	communicative language teaching
CPD	continuing professional development
CSF	Central Square Foundation (Indian NGO)
CTET	Central Teacher Eligibility Test (Indian examination of teaching skills)
DC	developing country
DELTA	Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults
DIET	District Institute of Education and Training
EdTech	Educational technology
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELIPS	English Language Initiative for Primary Schools (Maharashtra teacher development initiative)
ELISS	English Language Initiative for Primary Schools (Maharashtra teacher development initiative)
ELT	English language teaching
ELTAI	English Language Teachers' Association of India
EMI	English-medium instruction

ERIC	Education Resources Information Center (online library)
ESL	English as a second language
ESRC	Economics and Social Research Council (UK)
ET	expert teacher
ETI	espoused theories interview (see Data extracts: formatting and transcription)
FI	final interview (see Data extracts: formatting and transcription)
GMRs	Global Monitoring Reports
HSSC	Higher Secondary School Certificate
IATEFL	International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language
IB	International Baccalaureate
ICSE	(Council of) Indian School Certificate Examinations (educational board)
INSET	in-service training
IRF	initiation–response–feedback
IT	information technology
JA	Jason Anderson (interviewer in interview extracts)
LCE	learner-centred education
LHI	life history interview (see Data extracts: formatting and transcription)
MA	Master of Arts
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
MOI	medium of instruction
MSBSHSE	Maharashtra State Board of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education
MSBTPCR	Maharashtra State Bureau of Textbook Production and Curriculum Research
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NEP	National Education Policy
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NPET	non-participant English teacher
NPT	non-participant teacher
NPTO	non-participant teacher observation
OBC	other backward class (officially recognised disadvantaged group in India)
Obs.	(lesson) observation (see Data extracts: Formatting and transcription)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OOF	ongoing observational feedback
PC	personal computer

PCK	pedagogical content knowledge (see Shulman, 1987)
PLI	post-lesson interview
PPP	presentation, practice, production (lesson planning/instructional framework)
PT	participant teacher
RIE	Regional Institute of Education
RV	respondent validation (see Data extracts: formatting and transcription)
SC	scheduled caste (officially recognised disadvantaged group in India)
SCERT	State Council for Educational Research and Training
SEN	specific educational need
SES	socio-economic status
SLA	second language acquisition
SS	students
SSC	Secondary School Certificate (Indian qualification)
ST	scheduled tribe (officially recognised disadvantaged group in India)
TA	teacher association
TAP	think aloud protocol (see Data extracts: formatting and transcription)
TEFL	teaching English as a foreign language
TEJAS	Technology-enabled Education through Joint Action and Strategic Initiatives (teacher development initiative, Maharashtra)
TESL	teaching English as a second language
TESOL	teaching English to speakers of other languages
TLMs	teaching/learning materials
U-DISE	Unified District Information System for Education (Indian government database)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
VITAE	Variations in Teachers' Work, Lives and Effectiveness (Day & Gu, 2007)
WA	WhatsApp ™ (social messaging service)
WCT	whole class teaching

Data extracts: formatting and transcription

The following data sources are referred to in this thesis:

Field Notes

Notes taken while at school or in other data collection location (e.g., focus group interview site).

Focus Group Interviews

Interviews with small groups of students (3–4) or parents of students (4–8).

Interviews and other data sources involving participant teachers

Abbreviation	Name	Description
ETI	Espoused theories interview	Participant teachers were interviewed on their beliefs and theories regarding teaching and learning.
FI	Final interview	Final interview after other data collection was completed.
LHI	Life history interview	Participant teachers were interviewed on their own childhood, educational experiences, career and influences on their practice to date.
PLI	Post-lesson interview	Participant teachers were interviewed soon after lessons to investigate their recollection, reflection and other aspects of cognition.
RV	Respondent validation	Participant teachers' feedback on my written findings.
TAP	Think aloud protocol	Recorded participant monologue conducted during lesson planning.
WA	WhatsApp	Communication via WhatsApp Messenger™.

Note. 'a' and 'b' (e.g., PLI3a) are used for interview recordings that were paused, with 'a' indicating the first and 'b' the second part.

Square brackets are used in interviews to add clarifying information. 'JA' denotes 'Jason Anderson' (interviewer).

From Chapter 9 onwards, interview quotes also indicate the participant teacher:

(Vinay/PLI1b/32:20) Teacher: Vinay, Post-lesson Interview No. 1. Recording B (if interrupted). Time stamp: 32 minutes, 20 seconds.

Lesson extracts (Observations)

Lesson extracts are displayed in tabular format, numerated in order in the thesis, with indications of teacher, observation (Obs.) number, and timestamp. Where an extract includes mainly or only English language resources, one column is used for the extract. Any resources from languages other than English are italicised and English translation of the whole sentence is provided in subsequent square brackets:

EXTRACT 37: Nurjahan/Obs.14/17:30
T: Yeah, if there is no pollution. Good one. Very nice answers! OK. Can we move to the next activity? *Tumace uttara masta hotya!* [*Your answers were superb!*] Very good. I'm really happy with it. Now come to page fifty-six.

Where an extract includes larger quantities of resources from languages other than English, two columns are displayed. The left column shows the original utterance with resources from languages other than English represented in italics in Romanised script. The right column shows an English-only equivalent of the same utterance, with italics used to denote resources originally uttered in languages other than English:

EXTRACT 22: Dipika/Obs.16/14:30	
T: Aise zaruri nahi hai ki mene board *par jo likha hai, kya? Aapko bhi* creative *dimaag hai.*	*T: There's no need for what I have written on the* board *there, is there? You also have* creative *minds.*

Lesson extracts use as few data transcription conventions as possible to increase readability for non-specialist readers. Accompanying actions, paralinguistic features and non-verbal utterances of importance are indicated descriptively in brackets. Other symbols used:

(x)	inaudible word or phrase

T:	Teacher speaking
S1:	Student 1 speaking
S2:	Student 2 speaking
SS:	Students (more than one speaking)
…	Ellipsis of section of extract

Other data references

The following indicators of evidence are also provided in brackets:

(Obs. 2, 3, 8, 12, 25): All lesson observations for which a specific evidence claim is made.

(PLI1, PLI3, ETI): All interviews for which a specific evidence claim is made.

(G/D/N/K) Initial letters of all participant teachers (4 in this example) for whom a specific evidence claim is made.

Non-recorded observations of non-participant teachers (NPTOs) are discussed on occasion.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Justification for this study

It is a self-evident truth that teacher quality varies in any educational system. There are good teachers and bad teachers everywhere. It is also self-evident that documenting and sharing knowledge about the practices and cognition of good teachers is of use, in multiple ways, to educational systems around the world. This is particularly true in developing countries in the Global South[1] (Nordstrum, 2015; Pryor et al., 2012; Westbrook et al., 2013), where improvements in quality in educational systems are often urgently stressed as priorities in the battle to reduce poverty and support social and economic development (e.g., UNESCO, 2014). Despite this, and despite the huge sums of development aid invested every year into quality-related interventions in education in low-income countries, it is a surprising reality that "there is remarkably little good evidence on the effectiveness of different pedagogical practices in developing countries" (Muralidharan, 2017, p. 377; also see Alexander, 2015), including teacher expertise. As Pryor et al. note:

> The knowledge base of successful teaching in low income contexts is not sufficiently developed. Much research has concentrated on the deficiencies of teaching in low income countries and we therefore have accounts of poor practice and pupil failure. What we do not have are detailed descriptions of teachers' good practice in contexts that are challenging. There is a need for research to seek out examples, to theorise them and to make them available as a resource for teacher education and policymaking. (Pryor et al., 2012, p. 498)

This neglect may result, in part, from a belief that teacher expertise is largely absent in developing countries due to the lack of material and financial resources to facilitate its development, and in part from a belief that quality teaching practices can be "imported"

[1] In this thesis, the terms "Global South" and "developing countries" are both used to refer to low- and lower-middle-income countries, according to World Bank (2019a) data, recognising that while both terms are problematic, national contexts where education faces significant challenges and constraints caused by lower levels of funding and family income require discussion separate from contexts where funding is higher and—importantly—the vast majority of research in education is conducted (i.e., developed countries/the Global North). I use these terms solely to differentiate such contexts.

from other contexts. This thesis will demonstrate that the first of these beliefs is mistaken and the second is (and has always been[2]) naïve.

As a teacher educator who has spent much of his career working in low-income countries, I have learnt that whenever innovations to improve the quality of teaching originate in local practice they are more likely to be successful than if they are "imported" from other contexts; the latter often resulting in what Holliday calls "tissue rejection" (1994, p. 134) for numerous reasons, including appropriacy (e.g., culturally), feasibility (e.g., logistically) and sustainability (e.g., cost-wise). There is an extensive body of literature supporting Holliday's claim that it is neither possible nor desirable to transplant aspects of pedagogy in such ways (e.g., Sadler, 1900/1964; Tabulawa, 1998; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2012). Yet, when good practice originates in the context in question, such innovations are more likely to succeed for the same reasons in reverse. As Verspoor (2005, p. 38) observes, "would it not be preferable to design innovations … that do not deviate too far from existing practice, that can be adapted and applied by a large number of teachers without too much difficulty…?" I would go further, and argue that it is preferable to *source* such innovation in the existing practice of local practitioners. This study, through its research design and findings, offers a feasible, replicable means for doing exactly that, thereby not only answering Pryor et al.'s (2012) call for studies of best practice in contexts that are challenging, but also providing a means for such studies to become more widespread.

1.2. Focus and research questions

This comparative case study (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017) provides a comprehensive account of the situated practice, cognition and other characteristics of eight expert teachers in one developing country context—Indian secondary education—with English as the subject focus. It aims to situate, describe and compare the practices of the participant teachers with the ultimate goals of understanding similarities and differences both across participant teachers and when compared to teacher expertise documented in higher income contexts, where almost all prior expertise research has taken place. Given my own background as an exogenous researcher, I felt it important to give participants voice and agency in the research

[2] See Sadler (1900/1964).

design and questions addressed, making this the first participatory study of teacher expertise as far as I am aware. It investigates the following primary research questions:

1. What are the features of the pedagogic and professional practice, related cognition and beliefs of expert teachers working in Indian state-sponsored secondary education?
2. What commonalities and differences can be identified when comparing these features?

A third question is then addressed through comparison of the findings with the wider literature:

3. To what extent are the commonalities identified consistent with those documented in prior studies of expert teachers?

1.3. Further reasons for the study

While the lack of prior focus on quality in the classroom in the Global South constitutes sufficient justification for this study, as does the originality of the participatory methodology used, several further arguments can be made for it.

Firstly, it is notable that while studies of, for example, mathematics teacher expertise are common (15 prior studies found; see 3.4.1), there has been less research into expertise in the field of foreign/second language teaching (only 6 prior studies; see 3.5). This study, with a comparatively large sample size for a teacher expertise case study, bolsters this prior research significantly. It also identifies methodological shortcomings in several such prior studies in the literature review (e.g., Toraskar, 2015; Tsui, 2003) to strengthen this justification.

Secondly, given the frequently documented challenges of identifying appropriate participants for teacher expertise studies (see Palmer et al., 2005), through the critical application of multiple criteria to identify participants and the use of an original, equitable sampling approach, this study offers a flexible, potentially more reliable framework for recruiting participants than has previously existed for such studies, one that works even in challenging contexts, where some of the frequently used indicators of expertise are unreliable.

Thirdly, this study may be of use to educational authorities in India, where the focus of development has recently shifted from issues of access to those of quality (Anderson & Lightfoot, 2019; MHRD, 2020). While the recently revised National Education Policy stresses the need to recognise "outstanding teachers" (MHRD, 2020, p. 22), the paucity of prior empirical research on effective practices in Indian classrooms make it difficult to identify such teachers reliably. It is hoped that this study will help to inform such initiatives by contributing to the development of a "prototype" of Indian teacher expertise (see Sternberg & Horvath, 1995) for one subject, English.

Finally, this study focuses primarily on classroom practice, what Alexander (2015, p. 254) calls the "missing ingredient" in the field of comparative education studies. It provides thick, situated descriptions of the pedagogic practice and cognition of participants from within what many econometric and statistical researchers of education in developing countries characterise as the "black box" of the classroom (e.g., Aslam & Rawal, 2015; World Bank, 2016). Alexander is rightly critical of such studies, noting "…the striking feature of the GMRs [global monitoring reports] is that they do not so much engage with pedagogy as circle around it", leaving it "securely locked in its black box" (2015, p. 253). This study focuses primarily on the pedagogy of the participant teachers, while also providing sufficient contextual information and insight into cognition for the reader to understand, interpret and assess the relevance of the findings to potentially comparable contexts. Despite the challenges involved, and its potential shortcomings, the study does not shy away from arguably the most important question in research on education anywhere in the world: What does good teaching look like?

1.4. Structure of the thesis

This thesis follows a fairly typical structure and balance of content of a primarily qualitative PhD study, with perhaps a little more space devoted to the findings than is typically found in such studies.

The second chapter provides an overview of the research context, Indian secondary education, including current challenges and the specific nature of English language teaching (ELT) in India, where it is taught simultaneously as language and subject.

The literature review (Chapter 3) begins with an exploration and working definition of the construct of "expertise", followed by a critical review of the challenges involved in identifying teachers for expertise studies. It then reports on prior expertise studies, firstly on findings from empirical studies of teacher expertise around the world, then on the limited research conducted into language teacher expertise. Finally, in the near absence of prior research on teacher expertise in developing countries, it evaluates the limited research investigating effective teaching practices in such contexts, drawing some preliminary conclusions from a small number of rigorous and/or robust studies.

The methodology section (Chapter 4) proceeds chronologically. After introducing the aims and paradigm of the study and justifying the participatory element, it discusses how the participants were recruited and invited to help design the study. This is followed by discussion of data collection and data analysis, which began with individual case analysis, followed by cross-case comparison of similarities and differences. It concludes with discussion of issues of rigour and researcher reflexivity.

The extended findings section is divided into several smaller chapters. First comes an introduction to the participant teachers, covering key demographic/statistical data for each context (Chapter 5). This is followed by three detailed case descriptions, representative of the range and variation of pedagogic practices among the participant teachers (Chapters 6–8). Two comparative chapters follow this (Chapters 9–10), first a detailed cross-case analysis of all eight teachers that follows a similar structure to the case descriptions and focuses principally on identifying key similarities among them, and then an analysis of difference that attempts to understand the variations in pedagogic practice among participants, linking these principally to context, but also to the personalities and cognitions of the teachers involved.

The discussion chapter compares my findings to prior research, both expertise studies and research on effective teaching in developing countries (Chapter 11). After statistical comparison of the findings of this study with findings from prior research, it provides situated, qualitative discussion of areas of practice where this study documents important differences from prior findings, offering potential explanations for these. This includes discussion of the frequently debated issue of "learner-centred education" and a subject-specific focus, comparing findings to current notions of good practice within the field of English language teaching.

The concluding chapter summarises the major contributions of the study, also noting limitations, implications and recommendations arising from it.

Chapter 2. Introduction to the research context: Indian secondary education

India, at the time of writing, has the largest educational system in the world, within which over 260 million learners study in over 1.5 million schools, divided between over 60 curricular authorities (Anderson & Lightfoot, 2019). As such, it is more accurate to call it an "ecosystem" (p. 7; also Banerji & Chavan, 2016) than a single system, particularly given the complex interactions between the rapidly expanding private sector, the state sector and partnerships between the two (CSF, 2020). It is also undergoing important changes, with a newly published National Education Policy (NEP; MHRD, 2020) due to undergo implementation in the near future.

In this chapter I will provide an overview of the context to this study, first discussing how schooling is typically structured in India, then focusing on secondary education. This is followed by discussion of the subject-focus of this study, English, covering curricula, classroom practices, teacher education and beliefs regarding effective teaching among Indian teachers of English.

2.1. School types and levels

This study was conducted in state-sponsored education; i.e., schools where the government pays all, or almost all, of learners' school fees. In India, this includes two main types of school, government schools, and government-aided schools, which are funded by the government but managed privately (see Table 1, based on Anderson & Lightfoot, 2019; CSF, 2020).

Because of the similarities between government and government-aided schools, pupil academic outcomes are broadly similar across the two types (1% mean difference across 5 subjects at grade 10; NCERT, 2018), which cater for similar pupil demographics, unlike private schools.

Table 1

Three main types of school in India

Type	% of total (2020)	Fees for learners?[1]	Selective?	Run by	Curriculum
Government schools	54%	None.	No.	Usually district education authority or state government.	Usually follow a state (e.g., West Bengal, Telangana) curriculum, overseen by SCERT[2].
Government-aided schools (also called private-aided schools)	12% (21% at secondary level[3])	None, or nominal only (e.g., for uniforms).	Not in theory, although some organisations may prioritise learners from specific communities.	Not-for-profit entities, including trusts and societies.	Usually follow state curricula.
Private (unaided) schools	32%	Yes, for majority. Although they should also accept 25% of learners from specified disadvantaged social groups (e.g., SC/ST) for free.	Yes.	Private organisations, trusts, societies or NGOs.	Can follow state boards, but also more prestigious national (e.g., CBSE, ICSE) or international (e.g., IB) curricula.

Notes. 1. Until the age of 14 (Government of India, 2009). 2. State Centre for Educational Research and Training. 3. U-DISE (2019).

When this study was carried out,[3] schools were divided into primary (grades 1–5), upper primary (6–8), secondary (9–10), and higher/senior secondary (11–12). However, many so-called "secondary schools" include upper primary, secondary and higher secondary grades (i.e., 6–12), and many "secondary teachers" work flexibly across these grades (Anderson & Lightfoot, 2019). Except in very small schools, secondary teachers are usually

[3] The recently revised National Education Policy is due to introduce changes to this structure (MHRD, 2020).

subject specialists, teaching one (less often two) subjects, unlike at primary level. Henceforth, my use of the term "secondary" will refer to grades 6–10—the focus of this study—similar to most systems worldwide, and consistent with "middle" and "secondary" levels in the revised NEP (MHRD, 2020, p. 6).

2.2. Secondary schooling: enrolment, class sizes and achievement

While, historically, secondary schooling was the preserve of a privileged minority in India, recent, ambitious attempts to increase enrolment have achieved notable success (from 186 million to 261 million enrolments, 2000–2015), including a steady decline in the enrolment gap between male and female learners (Anderson & Lightfoot, 2019). Recent official sources have cited gross enrolment ratios at 91% to grade 8, and 79% to grade 10 (MHRD, 2020).

Class sizes at secondary levels are falling steadily. While official statistics indicate pupil-teacher ratios of under 30:1 at secondary levels (UNESCO, 2020), observed class sizes from recent studies average around 55 students, although this varies greatly between schools and classes (British Council, 2016; Mody, 2013; World Bank, 2016).

While enrolment and completion rates are improving steadily, Secondary School Certificate (SSC) exam scores (taken in grade 10) remain low. Pass rates for SSC are typically set at 25–35% by most boards, and average performances in 2017 ranged from 34% in maths and science, to 49% in modern Indian languages; English was 36% (NCERT, 2018), reflecting, in part, the ambitious curricula involved. However, significant differences between social groups can be seen. Many learners are first generation school-goers (42% in rural areas; ASER, 2018), whose parents have little or no literacy. This challenge is greatest among learners of scheduled caste (SC) and scheduled tribe (ST) designations,[4] who averaged two percentage points lower than the national mean in SSC exams in 2017, a relative difference of over 5% (NCERT, 2018). While female learners are now equalling or slightly outperforming males in SSC exams (NCERT, 2018) and appear also to be more motivated on average (MHRD, 2018), there is still a clear rural-urban gap in achievement

[4] Two of the official terms used to describe disadvantaged social groups in India.

(2.5 percentage points; relative difference of 6.3%) that is largest in English exam scores (5 percentage points; relative difference of 12.5%) (NCERT, 2018).

Although secondary schools should have a range of resources, including science/computer laboratories and libraries (Government of India, 2009), provision and usage vary greatly between states and management (ASER, 2017; World Bank, 2016). Classrooms typically include a blackboard, and rows of front-facing desks fixed to benches, each seating 2–4 learners (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Typical classroom in a rural Indian secondary school

2.3. English teaching and teachers

English is one of the five main school subjects at secondary level, and also the medium of instruction (MOI) in increasing numbers of schools (Anderson & Lightfoot, 2019). "Semi-English" schools involve English medium instruction (EMI) for certain subjects only (e.g., maths and sciences, alongside English), and are common in some states (e.g., Telangana). While EMI is more common in private schools (CSF, 2020), in some states, government and

government-aided schools are offering it in a bid to reduce loss of students to private education (Anderson & Lightfoot, 2018). To date, there has been little implementation of more scaffolded strategies for the use of English in mainstream education (e.g., CLIL) in India. Estimates of learner proficiency in English in secondary state schools are low, typically around A1–A2[5] (Mody, 2013). ASER (2018) recently reported that only 58% of rural 14–18-year-olds surveyed could correctly read A1-level sentences in English, and only 46% could correctly translate them to their first language (L1).[6]

2.3.1. English teacher qualifications and preservice training

There are an estimated 1.5 million English teachers in India (Davidson, 2013), working from primary level (where they are rarely subject specialists), to secondary and tertiary level (where they often are). While all are required to have a Bachelor in Education (BEd) qualification to teach (Government of India, 2009), qualifications vary greatly in practice, and even at secondary level English teachers may have little subject-specific training. There are widespread concerns that many teacher education institutions are corrupt, "selling degrees for a price", and offering little, if any, real training or supervised practicum (MHRD, 2020, p. 42). Traditionally, English was rarely seen as a subject in need of specialist teachers; schools would often employ science teachers, assuming that they would also be able to teach English (Meganathan, 2017). While many English teachers today have studied English at Bachelor's or Master's level, this was almost always an English literature degree and very few have specialist training in ELT/TESOL (Bhattacharya, 2013; Mukherjee, 2018). As Chattopadhyay notes (2020, p. 21; also see Padwad, 2020), the vast majority of English teachers "have no understanding of theories of language learning and language skills development techniques".

2.3.2. English curricula

While almost all of India's 36 states and union territories have their own board and curriculum, these are based to a large degree on the National Curriculum Framework

[5] Proficiency indicators use CEFR levels (see https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages/level-descriptions).
[6] L1 is used in this thesis as shorthand to refer to learners' first or most enabled language in education, which was often the dominant language in the community and the school MOI, but not always. It is recognised that the term fails to convey the complexity of languaging practices in multilingual communities.

(NCERT, 2005), including for English (Padwad & Dixit, 2018), meaning there are significant similarities in curriculum content. There is a strong emphasis on teaching English literature alongside the language, despite English being "a completely foreign language" for the vast majority of learners (Mukherjee, 2018, p. 126; CSF, 2020). They are expected to analyse and interpret poetry and prose even at lower secondary grades when, for many, their basic literacy in English is still developing (see, e.g., CBSE, 2020). Secondary curricula include Victorian authors and Shakespeare alongside both international (e.g., Tolstoy) and Indian literature translated into English (see Figure 2, from MSBTPCR, 2018). The challenges of unfamiliar cultural references and complex narratives make what are already lexically challenging texts more difficult to understand. Mukherjee (2018, p. 128) observes that members of an "Expert Committee" (mainly English literature lecturers) who recently revised textbooks in West Bengal have little, if any, training in materials writing. As a result, textbooks have remained strongly literature-focused, despite attempts in teacher training initiatives to introduce more communicative classroom practices across the country, often involving British Council (e.g., Mody, 2013). This conflict between language and literature teaching is sometimes referenced as a difference between teaching English as language (TEaL), and teaching English as subject (TEaS) respectively (Anderson, 2020c).

2.3.3. English classroom practices

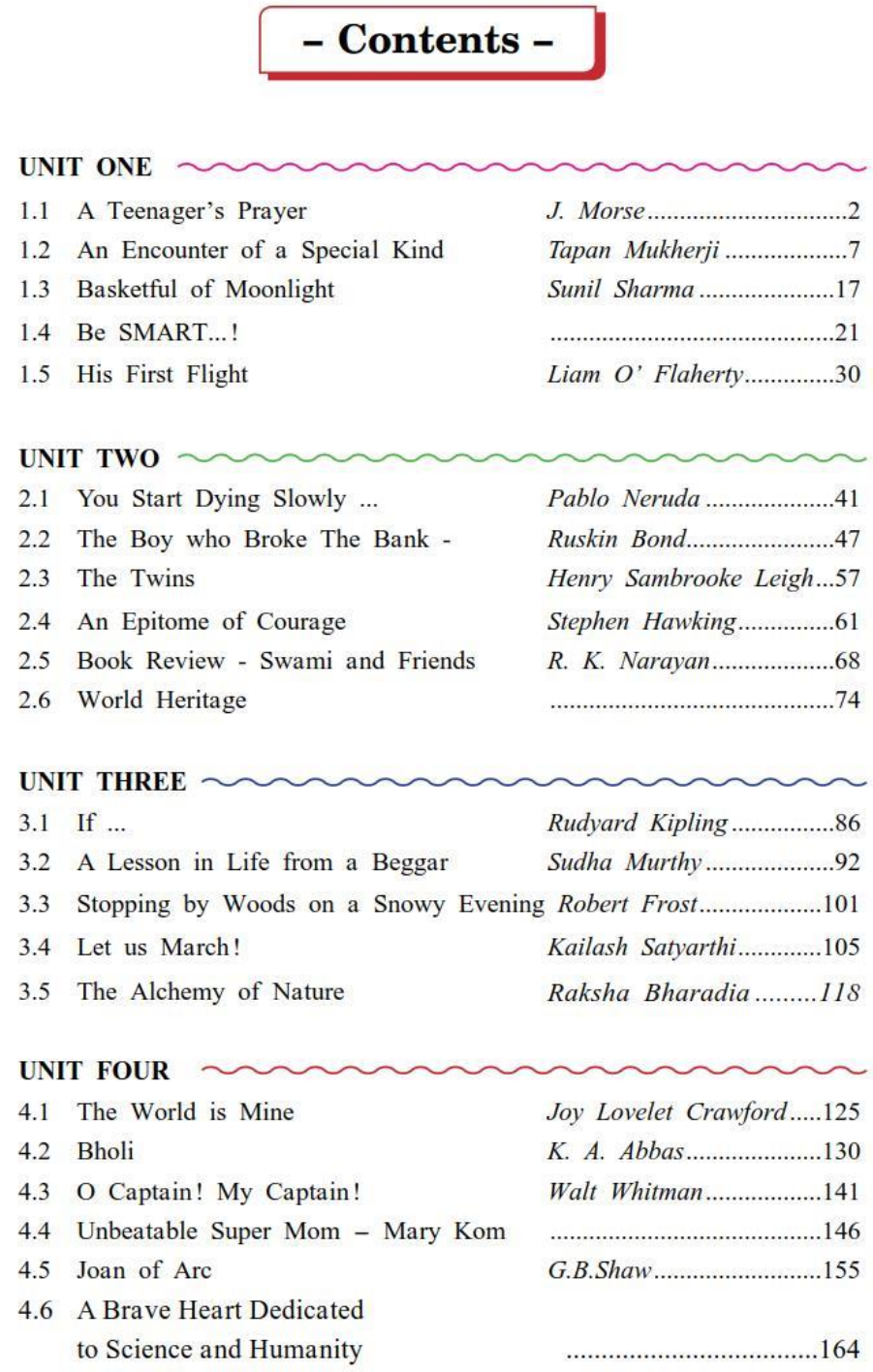
Lessons in English language classrooms across India are dominated by the use of textbooks and exam practice (Bhattacharya, 2013; Meganathan, 2017). In many state boards, there is only one mandated textbook at each grade (Padwad & Dixit, 2018), which is usually provided to learners for free and also drawn upon for exam content. Lack of awareness of the curriculum among teachers (Mukherjee, 2018) and lack of other materials means that the textbook often *is* the de facto curriculum (Kumar, 2005; Padwad & Dixit, 2018). In Maharashtra, for example, the English curriculum for grades 9 and 10 is only six pages long (MSBSHSE, 2012, pp. 123–128), and no Teacher's Guides or audio material currently exist for English. English teaching across India is thus heavily text-oriented, with little focus on oral/aural skills (Dutta & Bala, 2012; Mukherjee, 2018).

English exams involve only written tests in most cases, including items that test basic literacy (e.g., copying words correctly) alongside items that test in-depth understanding of works of literature. Several "seen" texts (poems and prose) are taken from the state-

mandated textbooks (e.g., CBSE, 2020), thereby enabling teachers to turn to rote memorisation of these texts and the answers to predictable text-based exam questions

Figure 2

Contents page of Maharashtra State coursebook, Grade 10



– Contents –

Note. © Maharashtra State Bureau of Textbook Production and Curriculum Research.

(Bhattacharya, 2013) to help their learners achieve the low pass scores documented above. Authorities put significant pressure on schools to improve exam pass rates, causing negative washback on classroom practices (Sultana, 2018), particularly in grades 10 and 12, so much so that Mody (2013) notes, "all teaching–learning in class 10 is limited to preparation for board exams" (p. 31). The recent National Education Policy laments the dominance of "rote learning"/"rote memorization" practices in Indian classrooms five times (MHRD, 2020), mandating more "interactive", "collaborative", "exploratory", "experiential learning" and significant reductions in curriculum content (p. 12). Paradoxically, it also recommends the introduction of new exams at grades 3, 5 and 8 (p. 18), which is likely to increase exam washback further.

Reports of classroom observations of English lessons indicate the dominance of teacher-led lecturing in Tamil Nadu (Meganathan, 2017), Delhi (Bhattacharya, 2013) and Bihar (British Council, 2016), and little evidence of appropriate praise, acknowledgement of learners' needs, collaborative learning, learner speaking opportunities or higher order questioning in Maharashtra (Mody, 2013). Several reports echo Meganathan's (2018) concern that "all the teachers are bothered about is 'coverage of syllabus'" (p. 13; also Padwad & Dixit, 2018; Sathuvalli & Chimirala, 2017), painting a rather bleak picture of English language teaching across the country.

It is within these difficult circumstances that a complex practice has evolved, known locally as the "bilingual method" (Chattopadhyay, 2020), "translation method" (Rajkhowa & Das, 2015) or "teaching-in-translation" (Bhattacharya, 2013). In this practice, rather than expecting learners to access the challenging core curriculum texts independently, teachers instead "interpret" these texts themselves for their learners. While varied, this *text interpretation* process (this term will be used to describe it henceforth) typically includes teachers first reciting these texts, then either paraphrasing in, or translating to, the L1 (invariably translanguaging as they do), sometimes asking comprehension questions (in either language), and then typically "dictating answers" (NCERT, 2006, p. 12) to common text-related questions asked in exams for learners to copy and memorise (Bhattacharya, 2013; Kumar, 2005; Padwad & Dixit, 2018).

Translanguaging—both during text interpretation and at other times in the lesson—has long been a natural feature of teaching practices in India (see e.g., Kumar, 2005, p. 138), and is even recognised in official policy documents from central government: "linguistic purism,

whether of English or the Indian languages, must yield to a tolerance of code-switching and code-mixing if necessary" (NCERT, 2006, p. 12). Recent observations by Lightfoot et al. (2021) report 36–75% "language mixing", 10–33% L1-only, and 0–51% English-only languaging[7] during primary English lessons in Delhi and Hyderabad.

2.3.4. English teacher monitoring and development

There appears to be little interest in teachers' classroom practice in the majority of state schools in India. Bambawale et al. (2018, p. 19) note that "there is often no standardised process that is followed for teacher evaluation", and observations are rare and cursory. This problem is further compounded by a lack of interest in classroom practices during school inspections (A. Padwad, personal communication, July 28, 2019), which occur in only 3.4% of schools every year (CSF, 2020). Teachers are evaluated primarily on the exam results of their learners (Bambawale et al., 2018), which are regularly reported as unreliable (e.g., Bambawale et al., 2018; Gandhi Kingdon, 2007; Graddol, 2010), with sources mentioning widespread cheating (e.g., Sriprakash, 2012) and a lack of standardisation between boards (Gandhi Kingdon, 2007).

Teachers are allowed up to 20 days off per year for CPD (Tyagi & Jaiswal, 2017). "CPD" is presumed by many to be synonymous with "training", and few teachers attempt "to initiate and support their own CPD" (Bolitho & Padwad, 2013, p. 8), preferring to attend top-down workshops and webinars, instead. However, the picture varies greatly between states. While none of Meganathan's five participants (2017, p. 116) had ever "undergone any training since the beginning of their appointment" in Tamil Nadu, Mody reports "training fatigue" (2013, p. 7) among teachers in Maharashtra.

A number of top-down English teacher training initiatives have attempted to introduce more learner-centred and/or communicative practices in several states, including Maharashtra, where the British Council have provided support for several years (Mody, 2013; TEJAS, 2019). There is anecdotal evidence of the impact of some initiatives (e.g., TEJAS, 2019), although this is likely to be limited when curricula and teachers' own

[7] The term "languaging" is used in this thesis as a superordinate descriptor to refer to language use practices both within and across named varieties.

education are both subject-oriented, leading to "confusion over the lack of fit" between such elements among many teachers (Mukherjee, 2018, p. 142).

2.3.5. Beliefs of Indian teachers of English

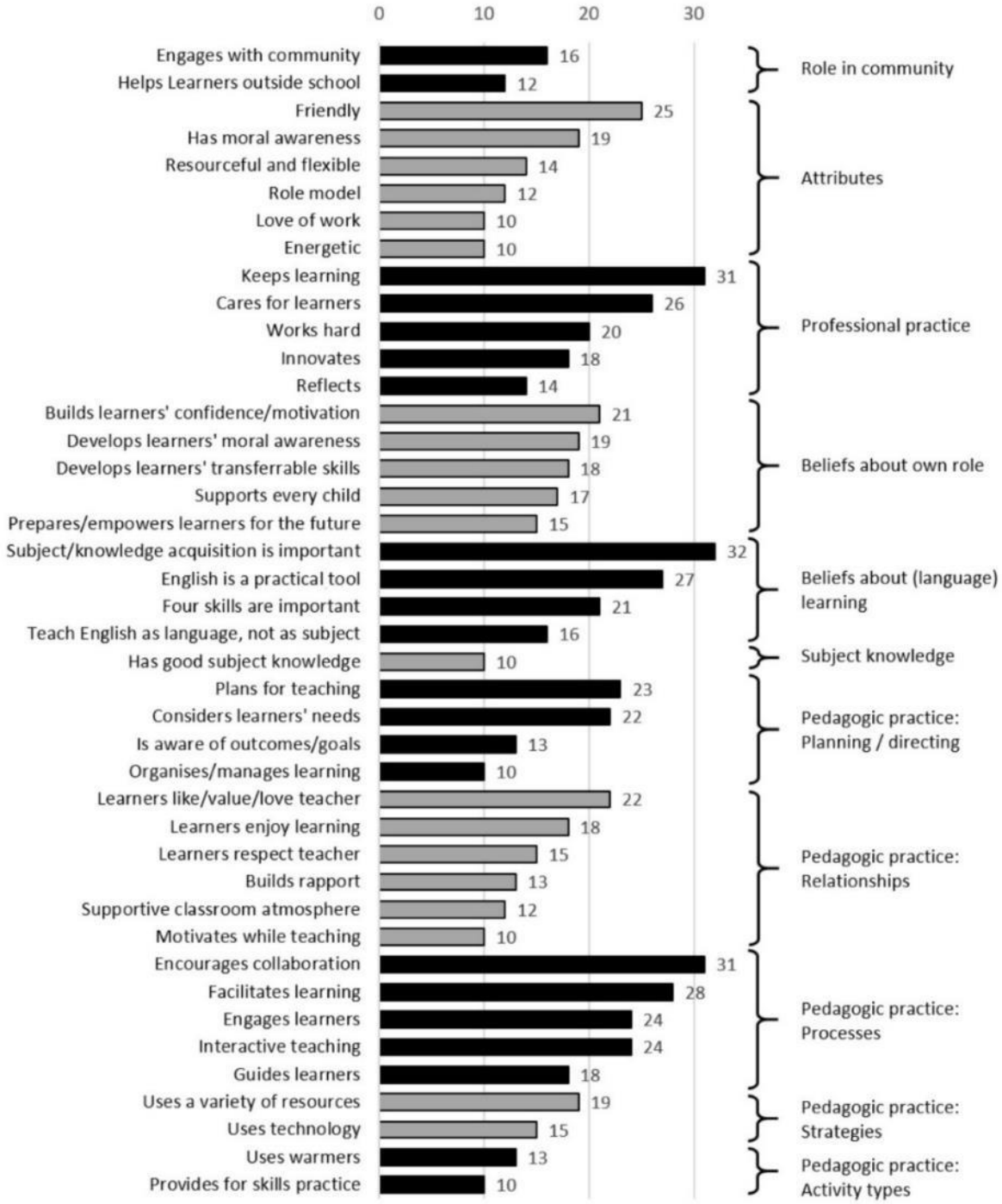
Prior to this study, in order to gain an initial understanding of Indian English teachers' beliefs concerning effective teaching, I conducted exploratory research among teachers in one of India's two largest English language teacher communities (see Anderson, 2020c). Seventy-five respondents to a qualitative survey described their perceptions of the practices, beliefs and personal attributes of an imagined effective teacher of English working in a government secondary school. Data were reported upon through both frequency counts of specific beliefs (see Figure 3) and qualitative discussion of the most commonly held beliefs as well as areas where opinions varied more widely.

The findings were condensed into the following qualitative summary, presented as a "shared-beliefs" prototype (Sternberg & Horvath, 1995) of the effective Indian secondary teacher of English:

> The effective secondary English teacher is dedicated both to her learners and her profession. She is a morally responsible individual who cares for all her learners and recognises the importance of developing their moral awareness and building their self-confidence. She also perceives it important to develop the necessary practical skills that the learners will need to function in the world, balancing the more general transferable skills (specifically, thinking skills and interpersonal skills) with the subject-specific knowledge (including vocabulary and grammar knowledge) and skills (reading, writing, speaking and listening) required to learn and make use of English in the future. She plans for teaching carefully, aware of her learners' needs and her intended outcomes. In the classroom she is a facilitator of learning more than a transmitter of knowledge, who is friendly, engages and interacts with the class, and encourages collaboration when possible through the use of pairwork and groupwork. Her learners value their teacher and enjoy their English lessons. As a professional she has an 'unquenchable thirst' for learning, is interested in 'updating' her practice and in innovating in her own classroom, especially when context-specific challenges require resourcefulness or flexibility. She works hard, reflects on her practice, engages with the local community around the school, and is often willing to help learners whenever needed. (Anderson, 2020c, p. 15)

Figure 3

Frequencies of coded beliefs (on left) and topic areas (on right) among responses



Note. From Anderson (2020c, p. 13). Used with permission.

The findings of this study indicate that teachers in the community in question, who are likely to be better informed than the majority of Indian teachers of English, believe strongly

that effective teachers are caring, conscientious, humanistic individuals, and that their pedagogy is broadly learner-centred and constructivist (Schweisfurth, 2013). However,

> …none of [the] respondents mentioned CLT [communicative language teaching], and, while a number described lessons broadly consistent with the ‘‘weak’ version’ of CLT (Howatt 1984: 279), there was no reference to stronger versions of CLT, such as task-based language teaching. (Anderson, 2020c, p. 16)

This finding supports Chattopadhyay’s (2020) observation that most Indian teachers of English have little awareness of language teaching methodology, having completed English literature, rather than TESOL qualifications. The study also notes evidence among the community of awareness of the TEaL–TEaS distinction discussed above, with a relatively small number of respondents (14) indicating a belief in the former.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter has documented evidence of challenges in the education systems of India typical of a developing country. These include large classes, overambitious curricula, and lower achievement in rural areas, particularly among disadvantaged social groups. With regard to ELT, it has documented generally low levels of English proficiency among learners, challenging curricula that combine literature and language, and written-only exams that have a strong washback on classroom practices, leading to the prevalence of translingual text interpretation. Teachers are much more likely to have English literature, rather than language (e.g., TESOL) qualifications, little in-service support, and—despite some evidence of beliefs in constructivism—classroom practices are regularly reported as being dominated by textbooks, teacher lecturing and rote learning, with little evidence of impact of progressive methodologies, and little awareness of communicative language teaching.

Chapter 3. Literature review

3.1. Introduction

This literature review begins by exploring the construct of teacher expertise critically, discussing the various ways it has been represented in the literature. It compares expertise to two closely related constructs: effectiveness and experience, and argues that, despite some of its problematic connotations, "expertise" is the most useful of all of these constructs to investigate in a study that aims to provide a useful description of appropriate, good teaching practice in contexts that are challenging. Based on this discussion, I offer a norm-referenced, working definition of expertise that is suitable for this study.

Drawing on Palmer et al.'s influential work (2001, 2005), the second section of this review investigates the challenge of identifying teacher expertise, discussing how this has been done in empirical studies and theoretical literature, and highlighting common sampling issues in both expertise and effectiveness studies, arguing that many adopt either too narrow a focus, or too naïve an understanding of the construct in question.

The third section provides a condensed, critical metareview of the extensive literature on teacher expertise, summarising key findings across multiple empirical studies with regard to the knowledge base, cognitive processes, beliefs, personal attributes, pedagogic practice and professionalism of expert teachers, as a foundation for the current study.

The fourth section will report critically on the small number of prior studies of language teacher expertise from around the world, including Tsui (2003), and the only study attempted thus far in a developing country context (Toraskar, 2015), revealing shortcomings with many of these.

The final section will investigate the limited amount of research conducted into effective teaching practices in developing country contexts, including survey reviews, large-scale studies and meta-analyses from across the developing world, collating a small number of shared findings that are likely to be of use to this study.

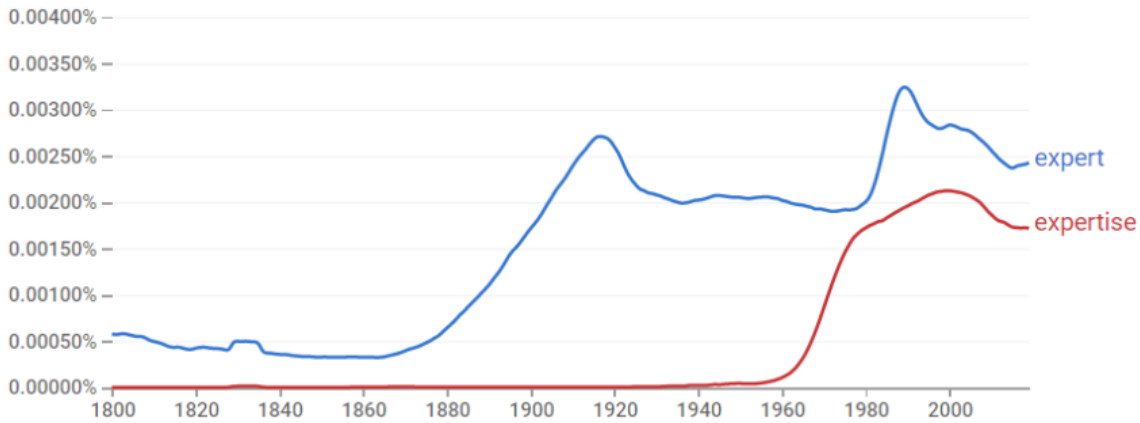
These five sections will provide a theoretical foundation, an empirical basis and a clear justification for this study as well as the necessary context for discussion of, and comparison with, my findings in due course.

3.2. Exploring the construct of teacher expertise

While the term expert has had common usage in English for centuries, our interest in "expertise" is a more recent phenomenon, and began with studies of expert chess players in the 1960s (Glaser & Chi, 1988; Ropo, 2004), as Figure 4 reveals. Since then, researchers have attempted to identify and study the practice and cognition of experts in a wide range of domains, including music, medicine and writing. In the 1980s, Berliner and colleagues attempted to apply the construct to the practice of teaching, albeit with less success: "the link between expert teachers and their students' performance has not been as easy to establish as, say, the link between expert chess and bridge players and their performance" (Berliner, 2004, p. 200). This is likely due to the greater complexity of the endeavour of teaching; since the 1960s we have developed computers that can beat us at chess and perform music, but no computer is yet able to do what teachers do for their learners in a way that would allow us to characterise a program or app as an "expert teacher".

Figure 4

Google Ngram chart showing frequency of terms 'expert' and 'expertise' in books from 1800 to 2019



Note. © Google Books Ngram Viewer, 2020. http://books.google.com/ngrams (see here).

In one sense, defining expertise is simple. Ericsson (2018, p. 3–4) suffices with dictionary and Wikipedia definitions to identify three elements present in most common-sense understandings of the construct: competence (i.e., specialist ability and/or knowledge), experience (as the source of the competence), and social recognition of an individual who possesses expertise. Expertise, in this sense, is an embodied, acquired competence. It cannot exist without a person, and that person cannot be a novice. However, as we investigate the plethora of uses of the construct of expertise in hundreds of publications in the field of education, we find that this word has been appropriated to serve a wide range of purposes (Bucci, 2003). An initial review of over 30 definitions of expertise revealed two tendencies: The first is a tendency towards norm referencing, in which expertise is understood comparative to the norm/average, either by impact (e.g., on learners) or recognition in a community. The second is a tendency towards criterion/criteria referencing, in which expertise is understood through the presence of specific features, either as possessed attributes, or practices. Table 2 provides examples of definitions within these two tendencies.

While some definitions fit neatly within the four types proposed, others may include aspects from several types, and some authors may reference more than one type at different points in their discussion of the construct. An example of this is Tsui (2003), who introduces expertise through norm (community) referencing ("[experts'] performance is regarded as exemplary, to be emulated by fellow members in the profession", p. 1), then identifies her expert through norm (product) referencing ("her performance on the course was outstanding", p. 71), and later adopts a process-referenced definition ("I characterize expertise as constant engagement in exploration and experimentation, in problematizing the unproblematic, and responding to challenges", p. 277–278).

Thus, it can be seen that, while the three elements of Ericsson's common sense definition above (competence, experience and social recognition) constitute the core features of characterisations of expertise in the literature, like many other key concepts in social practice, this is a somewhat "fuzzy" core (Smithson & Verkuilen, 2006), and individual uses of the term may appropriate it to different ends. Before offering a working definition of expertise that will be adopted for this study, I briefly address the relationship between "teacher expertise" and two related constructs "teacher effectiveness" and "teacher experience", both of which are sometimes discussed as synonyms or proxies of expertise.

Table 2

Norm-referenced and criterion-referenced conceptions of (teacher) expertise

Referencing	Type	Example definition	Other authors
norm-referenced	1. product-referenced: expertise-as-outcome	"Experts were identified by their students' unusual academic successes..." (Leinhardt et al., 1987, p. 136)	Berliner, 1986; Elferink-Gemser et al., 2018; Hattie, 2003; Leinhardt & Greeno, 1986; Pepin et al., 2017; Posner, 1988.
	2. community-referenced: expertise-as-role	"…an expert is someone generally recognised within society as surpassing in a particular sphere." (Johnson, 2005, p. 21)	Agnew et al., 1994; Borko & Livingston, 1989; Bucci, 2003; Campbell, 1991; Carter et al., 1987, 1988; Clarridge & Berliner, 1991; Collins & Evans, 2007; Johnson, 2005; Rampton, 1990; Swanson et al., 1990; Traianou, 2007.
criterion-referenced	3. competence-referenced: expertise-as-attribute / embodied expertise	"An expert is someone who is particularly skilled in a specific area, and the study of expertise looks at what characteristics experts possess, what procedures they follow, and how they differ from non-experts." (Johnson, 2010, p. 217)	Bruer, 1993; Ericsson, 2018; Gross, 2014; Johnson, 2010; Li & Zou, 2017; Milstein, 2015; Shulman, 1987; Valdés et al., 2014.
	4. process-referenced: expertise-as-practice / enacted expertise	"[Adaptive expertise] involves the development of flexible routines with continual adjustments between the needs of specific learners in real time while matching the needs of the communities of stakeholders over time." (Riel & Rowell, 2017, p. 673)	Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1993; Berliner, 1988, 2001a; 2001b; Bond et al., 2000; Smith et al., n.d.; Crawford 2007; Crawford et al., 2005; Tsui, 2003.

3.2.1. Teacher expertise and teacher effectiveness

An important, but often overlooked issue when discussing teacher expertise is its relationship to the parallel construct of "teacher effectiveness", which has also been extensively researched as a proposed measure of teacher quality, although not always carefully theorised. Definitions of "effective(ness)" are usually analogous to product-referenced definitions of expertise, consistent with the implication in the word "effect" of an outcome on something else, usually assumed to be learners (e.g., McEwan, 2002; see Nordstrum, 2015, for critical discussion). Unsurprisingly, therefore, a number of effectiveness studies define effectiveness solely in terms of impact on student exam scores, such as Stronge et al. (2011, p. 345): "Effective teachers were defined as those with TAIs [teacher achievement indices] in the top quartile; less effective teachers were defined as those with TAIs in the bottom quartile". While this may seem like an objective descriptor of quality, it is based on the specious assumption that the "value-added" impact of an individual teacher on student exam scores can be reliably separated from other influences on these scores, such as the learners' socioeconomic background, the influence of the wider school, or prior teachers. Despite many attempts to do this, even in a country with one of the most carefully monitored education systems in the world (the US) several authoritative studies have concluded that this is not possible (e.g., Darling-Hammond, 2012; Hattie, 2003; Kane & Cantrell, 2010). Even if it were possible to measure the value-added impact reliably, this would not necessarily constitute an appropriate measure of learner achievement. As the leading assessment statistician, Harvey Goldstein (2004) observes, "any rise in test scores should not be confused with a rise in learning achievement as opposed to test-taking performance" (p. 10).

Other definitions of effectiveness interpret impact as a more complex, multifaceted construct, not restricted solely to exam achievement. This ranges from Coe et al.'s (2014) slightly wider definition of effective teaching as "that which leads to improved student achievement using outcomes that matter to their future success" (p. 2) to more informed discussions, both by Campbell and colleagues (Campbell et al., 2003, 2004a), who introduce the concept of "differentiated teacher effectiveness", and by Brophy and Good (1986) before them, who note the importance of a range of impacts, while still clearly implying expertise-as-outcome (i.e., product referencing):

> …it is a misnomer to refer to [teachers' effects on students] as "teacher effectiveness" research, because this equates "effectiveness" with success in producing achievement gain. What constitutes "teacher effectiveness" is a matter of definition, and most definitions include success in socializing students and promoting their affective and personal development in addition to success in fostering their mastery of formal curricula. (Brophy & Good, 1986, p. 328)

These concerns are also noted by Bucci (2003), Muijs et al. (2005) and Goe et al. (2008), and have been borne out by more recent, robust international data; the most recent UNESCO Global Monitoring Report to focus on accountability concludes firmly that test "scores are insufficiently reliable as indicators of teacher effectiveness":

> Test scores … are influenced by many more factors than teaching, including students' skills, expectations, motivation and behaviour; parental background and support; peer pressure and aspirations; school organization, resources and culture; and curriculum structure and content. Teachers' impact on student performance, furthermore, is cumulative; a student is influenced not only by current teachers but also by former ones. (UNESCO, 2017, p. 75)

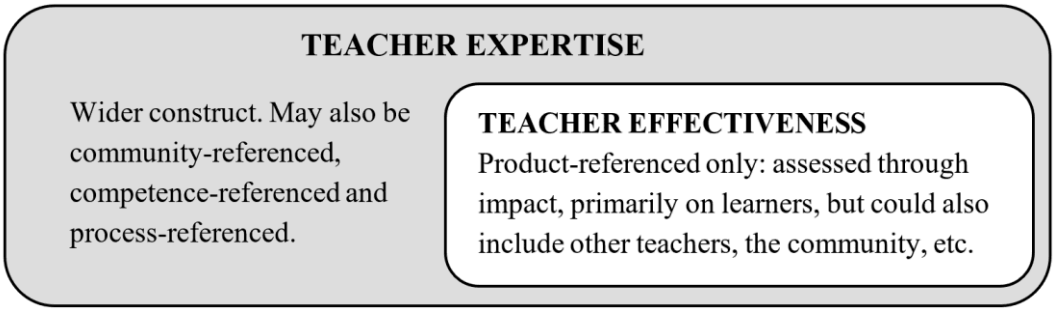
Hattie (2003) and Bond et al. (2000) use both terms ("effective[ness]" and "expert[ise]") interchangeably, yet both also discuss "expertise" as a more rounded construct going beyond impact on exam scores, and acknowledge other factors impacting upon learner achievement:

> Unlike the earlier studies of effectiveness, studies of expertise do not rely on simple correlations between teacher practices and student achievement because researchers have come to realize that many factors unrelated to teacher performance affect student achievement. (Bond et al., 2000, p. 16)

Thus, expertise can be seen as a wider construct, one that can both encapsulate the product-referenced definitions of effectiveness (see Figure 5), yet also allow for other understandings of (teacher) quality without necessarily ignoring impact, as appropriate to the aims of researchers—such as myself—seeking to develop an inductive understanding of the highly complex, multifaceted and situated, yet elusive phenomenon of quality in teaching.

Figure 5

The relationship between teacher expertise and teacher effectiveness



3.2.2. Teacher expertise and teacher experience

> It has been said that teachers who have been teaching for twenty years may be divided into two categories: those with twenty years' experience and those with one year's experience repeated twenty times. (Ur, 1996, p. 317)

Both longitudinal and cross-sectional research into teacher professional development and performance testify to an important truth reflected in the above quote: that there is no simple, direct correlation between teaching experience and teacher expertise (e.g., Day et al., 2006, 2007; Goodwyn, 2011; Hattie, 2003). Discussing the key findings of one of the largest studies ever conducted into longitudinal professional learning of teachers (the VITAE project), Day and Gu (2007, p. 423) observe that "teachers do not necessarily learn through experience; that expertise is not acquired in an even, incremental way; and that teachers are at greater risk of being less effective in later phases of their professional lives". Consistent with research on expertise in all other domains of complex social behaviour studied (Ericsson & Lehmann, 1996), these studies testify to the fact that "experience is a necessary, although not sufficient condition in the selection of expert teachers" (Palmer et al., 2005, p. 21). Given that this study aims to document the practices of teachers in a way that is likely to be of use to others in similar contexts, it takes expertise as its focus, separating it from experience, and, consistent with the evidence presented above (also see Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1993), rejects the assumption that the former inevitably develops from the latter.

3.2.3. A working definition of expertise for this study

In this study, I seek to understand teaching, and education, as a situated, sociocultural phenomenon, "a major embodiment of a culture's way of life, not just a preparation for it"

(Bruner, 1996, p. 13). I am interested in documenting examples of expertise as recognised locally (i.e., expertise-as-role). Thus, it is appropriate for me to search out community-referenced instances of teacher expertise. In line with this, I define teacher expertise as follows, drawing, in part, on Rampton (1990) and Bucci (2003), who both argue for situated definitions of expertise:

> Teacher expertise is an enacted amalgam of learnt, context-specific competencies (i.e., embodied knowledge, skills and awareness) that is valued within an educational community as a source of appropriate practice for others to learn from.

As such, I avoid the implication that it is necessarily "best practice" (but it could be), nor product-referenced (but it could be), and choose to position it as both competence and practice – teachers both have it and do it. While it is norm-referenced (insomuch as it is contrasted with inappropriate practice in the community), I also avoid implying that it is exclusive (to a minority).

This definition is adopted cognisant of the need to provide space for community-specific qualities of teacher expertise to emerge as the features of its embodiment become apparent, appropriate to the exploratory approach involved in this study. Nevertheless, I am also interested in understanding the extent to which teacher expertise in the context studied is, or is not, similar to its manifestation in other contexts across the world, hypothesising contingently that there may be some broadly universal aspects of interest, as well as some aspects that are specific to educational systems and cultures, and others that are even more specific to school communities or teachers' individual practice. With this aim in mind, I have avoided attempting to filter the literature reviewed below based on any *a priori* assumptions of what expertise should be, beyond separating it from experience (see above) and basic qualified status. I have reviewed all remaining literature purporting to document teacher expertise in my attempt to elucidate its fuzzy core.

3.3. The challenge of identifying 'experts'

This section of this literature review discusses critically a number of challenges relating specifically to the question of how researchers find appropriate participants for expertise

studies (i.e., the issue of purposive, criterion-based[8] sampling), with the aim of identifying possible means for the recruitment of participants for this study, bearing in mind the working definition above. As well as documenting the most common ways in which researchers have sought to identify expert teachers, it highlights ways in which many of these studies have adopted unreliable criteria, including in both qualitative and quantitative research.

3.3.1. Palmer et al.'s metareview

Palmer et al. (2005) provide a useful metareview of how participants in 27 peer-reviewed empirical studies on teacher expertise were identified. While their categories for participant sampling criteria ("markers") were somewhat idiosyncratic,[9] they reveal a wide range of strategies used in different studies, from the employment of robust, multiple criteria (e.g., Swanson et al., 1990) to selection based on a single criterion alone (e.g., Leinhardt & Greeno, 1986). These are summarised in Table 3. While community referencing and competence referencing were both common, product referencing was fairly rare and process referencing was not apparent – it is more often discussed in definitions or descriptions of expertise based on literature reviews (e.g., Bond et al., 2000) or as a finding of expertise studies (e.g., Crawford, 2007; Tsui, 2003). Palmer et al. note a number of the challenges involved in employing such varying criteria in what are at times "haphazard" (p. 21) selection procedures, particularly regarding construct validity, and the use of a single criterion or single criterion plus experience. They go on to recommend a two-gated multiple criteria process to encourage greater rigour in participant selection (discussed further in 4.2).

3.3.2. Common sampling issues

Probably the most common sampling strategy used in expertise studies is what Palmer et al. (2005) call "social recognition", often employed as the sole or primary criterion for selecting participants. This has occurred most often through recommendations of specific teachers as "experts" from district education officials, such as school inspectors or teacher trainers (e.g., Li & Zou, 2017), school headteachers and colleagues (e.g., Toraskar, 2015), or a

[8] Sampling criteria should not be confused with criterion-referenced definitions of expertise discussed above. A sampling criterion could be based upon either criterion-referenced (e.g., possession of specific attributes) or norm-referenced (e.g., social recognition) definitions of expertise.
[9] For example, including mentoring roles under "performance criteria" and higher qualifications as "professional/social group membership" (p. 17).

combination of these (e.g., Milstein, 2015). Such recommendations are subject to the personal bias of individuals who may have a rather one-sided interest in teachers' practice, and so should be avoided in isolation (Palmer et al., 2005). Further, given that few such recommenders are likely to have experience teaching more than one subject, their 'expertise' when nominating teachers of other subjects is likely to be limited (Yang, 2014).

Table 3

Summary of criteria for selecting participants in teacher expertise studies discussed by Palmer et al. (2005).

Criterion (# studies)	**Description**	**Critical notes**
Teaching experience (16 studies)	Most studies required at least 5 years' experience. Prerequisite only.	Authors note that experience is "necessary" but "not sufficient" for the selection of expert teachers (p. 21).
Social recognition (17 studies)	Includes nomination from relevant stakeholders: headteachers, other teachers, students, parents, local education authority, inspectorate and teacher educators familiar with context.	16 of 17 studies also used other criteria. 6 of 17 used multiple stakeholder nomination.
Professional/social group membership (13 studies)	Included teacher certification, holding an advanced degree, participation on teacher education course, status as a mentor teacher or teacher educator as well as membership in an educational organisation.	Unusual choice of term. Many of studies involved "cooperating teacher(s)", who had been studied by researchers before. Never used in isolation.
Performance criterion (16 studies)	Including through learner exam performance, teacher rating (e.g., by inspectorate or headteacher), comparison to colleagues, as well as descriptions of qualities (i.e., competence referenced), receipt of awards, senior responsibilities, conference and other public presentations, and teacher self-evaluation. Also included researcher screening and observation of lessons.	A rather large category including a wide range of criteria, many of which are not obviously performance related. Often a combination of several performance criteria were involved. Those that were competence-referenced often involved high inference criteria.

Another problematic single criterion often used (e.g., Leinhardt & Greeno, 1986) involves selecting teachers solely on the basis of learner exam performance, problematic due

to the challenge of identifying the "value-added" impact of an individual teacher discussed above (see 3.2.1) and acknowledged by Palmer et al. (2005, p. 22). Also as discussed above, even if it were possible to isolate such teachers, it cannot and should not be assumed that learner exam performance is an appropriate and sufficient indicator of teacher expertise. While one might expect that the learners of expert teachers would do well in exams, it may be the case that those teachers whose learners score highest in exams are in fact "efficient child-crammers rather than excellent pedagogues" (Kuchah, 2013, p. 85; also see Amrein-Beardsley, 2007; Campbell et al., 2003; Goe et al., 2008).

A third issue relates closely to the second. A number of studies have selected participants whose practices are consistent with those documented in prior literature on teacher effectiveness or expertise (e.g., Bond et al., 2000; Milstein, 2015). However, if the previous sampling error has caused researchers to identify only teachers whose learners perform well in exams, such an approach is likely only to find more such teachers, leading to further embedding of these mischaracterisations of expertise in the literature.

Finally, an issue that was present in a number of studies reviewed (e.g., Sabers et al., 1991; Smith Feger, 2009; Westerman, 1991) involves what might be called *Pygmalion sampling*, in which a researcher's own bias regarding what constitutes expert teaching, or teachers, seems to have influenced their choice of participants for the study; i.e., they select a teacher whose practices are consistent with a personal theory of effective teaching. They then document the practices of this teacher and present these as evidence to support the theory that has been used to select them – a problem of circular reasoning.

3.4. Teacher expertise: Key findings from the wider literature

Underpinning the research questions, design and theoretical basis of this study is the hypothesis that teacher expertise in challenging contexts in developing countries is likely to share a number of features with expertise as studied in more privileged contexts, alongside certain features that are distinct to the context in question and others that are shared primarily with other low-income contexts. In order to be able to demonstrate this, this section of the literature review discusses findings from prior research on teacher expertise

worldwide (although the majority of studies were conducted in the USA[10]). Given the extensive literature involved and the space limitations of this thesis, the following is a summary of salient findings only.

3.4.1. Literature review methodology

Initial searches through ERIC and Google Scholar were supplemented with searches through Proquest, PubMed and Web of Science to identify over 500 peer-reviewed papers, books and PhD studies of potential significance to teacher expertise,[11] including influential works beyond the field of teaching per se (e.g., Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1993; Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 1986) that were reviewed for theoretical significance. I then screened these a second time for studies of teacher expertise as discussed above, excluding approximately 350 irrelevant studies, such as those that use the term "expertise" to refer to general subject competence or knowledge (e.g., Aktekin & Celebi, 2020) or more commercial titles referencing "expertise", yet involving general discussions of author-interpreted best practice (e.g., Loughran, 2012; Mead, 2019). A further 26 were rejected due to insufficient evidence that appropriate criteria had been applied in the selection of participants (specifically selection based on experience and/or qualifications alone; e.g., Farrokhi et al., 2011; Stewart, 2006). 133 papers and books were read in full. Among these, 75 research papers reported on 67 original empirical studies[12] from which the findings below are summarised, with occasional reference to theoretical literature where required.

Given the rather varied understandings of expertise and related sampling issues discussed above, as well as the diversity of levels (from primary to tertiary and adult), subject foci (sometimes various, sometimes subject specific) and contexts around the world, I here prioritise findings that are more robust, being shared between at least four separate studies, either from different educational systems or at different levels (e.g., primary and secondary). Where I refer to "strong evidence", six or more studies supported a finding, and "some evidence", two or three supporting studies were found. For reasons of space, only one to two example citations are provided. Table 17, in Chapter 11 provides a full list of the robust findings, identifying 92 in total that were shared by four or more studies (further

[10] 59% of studies reviewed.
[11] Only studies published in English were returned by the databases.
[12] Sometimes two papers reported on the same data set and/or findings; these were merged (e.g., Crawford, 2007 and Crawford et al., 2005).

citations are given there). As Table 17 also presents key findings of this study, it is not presented here.

The findings are organised into the following categories, which were developed during the review to reflect the varying foci of the studies:

1. the knowledge base
2. the cognitive processes
3. the beliefs
4. the pedagogic practice
5. the nature/attributes
6. the professional practice

} of expert teachers

3.4.2. The knowledge base of expert teachers

There is strong evidence that expert teachers (ETs) have an extensive knowledge base which is well organised, integrated and readily accessible during practice (Bond et al., 2000). This includes extensive knowledge about their learners (Hanusova et al., 2013), the curriculum (Lawrie et al., 2019) and their subject (Smith & Strahan, 2004). There is also evidence of extensive pedagogical knowledge (Swanson et al., 1990) and well developed self-regulatory knowledge (Bullough & Baughman, 1995) as well as partial evidence of knowledge about their teaching context (Berliner, 1988). A number of authors have proposed specific constructs to describe this integrated knowledge base, particularly Shulman's (1987) Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK), a "special amalgam of content and pedagogy" argued to be essential to effective teaching (p. 8), and strongly supported in ET studies (e.g., Gudmundsottir, 1991). There is some evidence that expert language teachers' declarative knowledge (e.g., about grammar, lexis and phonology) (Tsui, 2003) and their own language proficiency (Andrews & McNeill, 2005) is better developed than that of non-expert teachers.

The question of whether the knowledge base described here is unique to ETs or merely a prerequisite for expertise is debatable (see Hattie, 2003). Both Gatbonton's (1999) and Housner and Griffey's (1985) studies, for example, involved "experienced teachers" who demonstrate much of the expertise that Hattie (2003) argues is specific to experts.

3.4.3. Cognitive processes of expert teachers

There is strong evidence that expert teachers have an extensive range of automated cognitive processes and heuristics, employed both when teaching (Allen & Casbergue, 1997) and when planning (Borko & Livingston, 1989). It is speculated in the wider expertise literature that this automation frees up mental resources for less predictable occurrences (e.g., Feltovich et al., 1997). This is consistent with strong evidence that ETs have high awareness of what is happening in class (Wolff et al., 2015), and are able to attend primarily to relevant information during instruction (Carter et al., 1988), deal effectively with the unexpected (Borko & Livingston, 1989) and make appropriate decisions as a result, for example, to avoid disruption of the lesson (Westerman, 1991). Partial evidence of well developed metacognition among ETs (Yuan & Zhang, 2019) and their greater willingness to make value judgements when compared to less experienced teachers in laboratory studies (Sabers et al., 1991) are also of note.

There is also strong evidence that ETs are able to solve novel problems effectively, engaging in what Bereiter and Scardamalia (1993, p. 81) call "progressive problem solving" to do so, documented well in Tsui's study of an ET who regularly "problematised the unproblematic" (2003, p. 267), and learnt from this process, consistent with Schön's model of reflection-in-action (1983; see Anderson, 2019).

3.4.4. Beliefs of expert teachers

While there is evidence that some beliefs of ETs are culturally relative (Rollett, 2001; Stigler & Miller, 2018), there is also clear evidence that others are shared cross-culturally. These include strong evidence that ETs have a sense of moral duty (Hanusova et al., 2013; Yang, 2014), even "mission", driving them (Campbell, 1991, p. 37), and evidence of a related belief in facilitating growth "of young people as whole human beings" (Campbell, 1991, p. 37; Milstein, 2015).

A large number of studies provide strong evidence of a belief among ETs in the importance of building good relationships with one's learners (Schempp et al., 2002; Sorensen, 2014), with authors occasionally employing parental metaphors to describe such relationships (e.g., "mothering"; Bullough and Baughman, 1993, p. 91); this is often linked to a frequently reported belief in the importance of knowing one's learners well (Smith & Strahan, 2004; Tsui, 2003).

In the area of motivation and expectations, there is consistent evidence that ETs see it as important to motivate (Li et al., 2011; Traianou, 2006) and/or engage learners (Asaba, 2018; Milstein, 2015) in the learning process. While many also believe in the importance of setting "high challenges" (Hattie, 2003) or "high expectations" (Sorensen, 2014) for their learners, they resist blaming their learners for shortcomings (Goodwyn, 2011; Smith & Strahan, 2004), and frequently accept ultimate responsibility for success and failure in the classroom (Gross, 2014; Schempp et al., 1998), although many also believe learners need to take responsibility for their own studies and behaviour (Gross, 2014).

There is evidence that ETs, at least in Anglophone countries, exhibit respect for their learners (Bond et al., 2000; Sorensen, 2014), and avoid making a priori assumptions about them (Carter et al., 1987), including what one ET called the "labelling effect" caused by streaming practices in some educational systems (Tsui, 2003, p. 91). They believe in treating learners as individuals with diverse needs and backgrounds (Blackwell, 2020; Rollett, 2001).

While there is greater diversity among ET beliefs about effective teaching practices, there is strong evidence of beliefs in aspects of constructivism (Chen & Rovegno, 2000; Lawrie et al., 2019), particularly a belief in linking learning to learners' lives, experiences and prior schemata (Gudmundsdottir, 1991; Yang, 2014), and some evidence that they believe in developing learners' study skills/autonomy (Li & Zou, 2017). In language teaching, there is evidence that ETs believe in the importance of skills practice (Toraskar, 2015; Tsui, 2003), and partial evidence of a belief in developing learners' communicative competence in the target language (Hanusova et al., 2013; Li & Zou, 2017).

3.4.5. Pedagogic practice

Perhaps the most important observation to be made with regard to ETs' planning and teaching is that it varies, even when subject-specific analysis is conducted. This is particularly noticeable in comparative case studies (e.g., Milstein, 2015; Pepin et al., 2017; Sorensen, 2014), and this observation may help to explain why there is less detail in this area, particularly with regard to issues of specific approaches or methods adopted, including in the area of language teaching.

With regard to the preactive phase of teaching (i.e., planning and preparation; Jackson, 1968), there is strong evidence of two, seemingly contradictory findings; that ETs plan carefully (Berliner, 2004; Leinhardt, 1989), but also that, for many, this planning may not

require any writing (Borko & Livingston, 1989; Westerman, 1991) – it seems that, for such ETs, "planning is a thinking skill" (Scrivener, 2005, p. 109), rather than a document preparation task. There is also strong evidence that ETs consider both their learners' needs (Lawrie et al., 2019) and their long-term objectives (Pike, 2014) when planning, yet their plans remain flexible and contingent, allowing for final decisions to be made while teaching (Tochon & Munby, 1993). In the related area of materials preparation and use, there is also evidence that ETs develop their own teaching–learning materials (TLMs) and resources (Lin & Li, 2011; Pepin et al., 2017), making regular use of such TLMs in class (Yang, 2014), with several studies also reporting the effective integration of educational technology and IT tools (Pepin et al., 2017). There is partial evidence that some ETs make only limited use of core curriculum materials (e.g., textbooks) (Chen & Ding, 2018) and two studies in language teaching indicating that some ETs also make use of "authentic materials" (Andrews & McNeill, 2005; Tsui, 2003).

In class, there is strong agreement that ETs exhibit considerable flexibility, able to improvise while teaching (Bond et al., 2000; Even & Gottlib, 2011) and respond to learning as it happens, indicating that both Yinger's (1987) construct of "improvisational performance" and Anderson's (2019) of "interactive reflection" may both be important components of ET practice (Asaba, 2018). Yet they are able to do this without abandoning their pre-planned intentions for the lesson. As Borko and Livingston (1989) note, ETs are "very skillful at keeping the lesson on track and accomplishing their objectives while also allowing students' questions and comments to be spring-boards for discussions" (p. 481; also see Westerman, 1991).

With regard to lesson structure, there is strong, consistent evidence that expert teachers have clear routines and procedures (Leinhardt & Greeno, 1986), often established at the start of the year (Leinhardt et al., 1987). Four studies report teachers who regularly conclude lessons with a summary activity (e.g., Lin & Li, 2011), and there is some evidence for ETs providing signposting throughout the lesson (Westerman, 1991) and cohesion between activities (Even et al., 1993).

There are comparatively few shared findings with regard to behaviour management, although there is some evidence that experts are able to "anticipate and prevent disturbances from occurring" (Hattie, 2003, p. 7; also Westerman, 1991); the relative lack of discussion of responsive behaviour management (i.e., how ETs deal with misbehaviour) supports Hattie's

assertion. Consistent with this, and with several beliefs documented above, ETs have frequently been found to "[create] positive, accepting learning environments" (Schempp et al., 2002, p. 105; Smith & Strahan, 2004), where mutual respect and close, meaningful relationships are the norm (Gross, 2014; Yang, 2014) and positive reinforcement is frequent (Goodwyn, 2011); this combination may lead to lower levels of disruptive behaviour. Also consistent with two frequently documented beliefs, ETs are able to engage learners in class (Bond et al., 2000; Milstein, 2015), particularly through enjoyable, intrinsically motivating practices (Arani, 2017).

With regard to teaching approaches, the evidence points to significant diversity, with a large number of studies documenting ETs both making use of whole-class teaching (n = 10; e.g., Leinhardt, 1989) and using learner-independent activities (n = 10; e.g., Smith & Strahan, 2004), and several reporting ETs balancing between both teacher-led and learner-centred interaction formats (e.g., Leinhardt & Greeno, 1986; Sorensen, 2014). Similarly, in language teaching, there is evidence of "informed eclecticism" in practice from two studies (Hanusova et al., 2013, p.33; Tsui, 2003).

During whole class teaching (WCT), studies invariably report that it is predominantly interactive (including questioning, elicitation and discussion [e.g., Arani, 2017], rather than one-way lecturing) and several document ETs using a variety of means to explain or teach a specific point or concept (Schempp et al., 2002). Frequent questioning by ETs, not only during WCT, is documented to involve both closed (e.g., Traianou, 2006) and more open-ended questions (e.g., Varrella, 2000), with some involving a focus on higher order and critical thinking skills (Torff, 2006). Mainly, but not exclusively during WCT, there is very strong evidence (n = 19) that ETs regularly link lesson content to—or build it upon—learners' prior knowledge and life experience (Chen, 2001; Meyer, 2004), consistent with the above-documented belief in this among ETs.

With regard to what are often described as "learner-centred" activities (e.g., Schweisfurth, 2013), there is very strong evidence of the regular use of collaborative learning (i.e., pairwork and groupwork) in the lessons of ETs (Gross, 2014), with some evidence of the more specific practices of cooperative learning (Berliner, 1991), and peer-tutoring/instruction of various types (Chen & Rovegno, 2000). There is evidence that ETs monitor learner seatwork and groupwork during activities (Smith & Strahan, 2004), particularly to provide one-to-one tutoring and personalised support (Gross, 2014). While the

nature of activity types used by ETs varies, there is strong evidence that some make regular use of inductive (e.g., problem-based/discovery) learning (Traianou, 2006; Yang, 2014).

In these many, varied accounts of ET practice, there is strong evidence from both WCT and independent activities of ETs scaffolding learning effectively (Andrews & McNeill, 2005), and of their developing learners' understanding of content (Hayden et al., 2020), rather than simply knowledge. There is also strong evidence that they are able to provide differentiated instruction according to learners' needs, interests and challenges (Goodwyn, 2011; Hattie, 2003), and also that many focus on developing learners' autonomous study skills, encouraging responsibility, metacognitive awareness and self-directed learning among their learners (Chen, 2001).

While there is little discussion of summative assessment practices in the ET literature, there is evidence of several ETs regularly focusing on exam task skills and awareness raising, particularly in contexts where the influence of high stakes exams is strong (e.g., China; Yang, 2014). Formative assessment seems to be an important element of ET practice, with strong evidence from a wide range of contexts (e.g., Hayden et al., 2020), consistent with Black and Wiliam's (1998) findings in this area. In line with constructivist practices described above, new instruction is often reported to be preceded by assessment of current/prior knowledge (Meyer, 2004; Westerman, 1991), and there is strong evidence of ETs providing extensive, qualitative feedback to learners on their progress (Blackwell, 2020). They are also observed to engage learners in the assessment process (e.g., self-assessment, peer assessment; Hayden et al., 2020), and able to make use of visual cues to assess both engagement and learning (Webb et al., 1997), consistent with the most regularly documented finding among ETs in the area of assessment, that it is dynamic and integrated throughout lessons (Asaba, 2018; Westerman, 1991).

3.4.6. The personal attributes of the expert teacher

While early "presage–product" studies uncovered relatively little about the relationship between teachers' personalities and their effectiveness (Campbell et al., 2004a), research on ETs indicates the regular presence of certain attributes and qualities among them. Firstly, there is strong evidence that ETs are passionate about their work in general (Bond et al., 2000), some evidence that they have a passion for the subject they teach (Goodwyn, 2011) and strong evidence that they enjoy the act of teaching itself (Rollett, 2001). Numerous

studies (n = 11) indicate that ETs care, often deeply, for their learners (Gross, 2014), suggesting that many may posses what Rogers calls unconditional positive regard, "the kind of attitude that is most likely to lead to trust" (Rogers & Sanford, 1984, p. 1379), and may be the source of the tendency among ETs documented above to avoid blaming their learners for their shortcomings.

With regard to aspects of personality, there is evidence both that many ETs have strong motivation to succeed (i.e., ambition; Milstein, 2015), and that many are fairly independent or autonomous in their behaviour (Carter et al., 1987), although they do collaborate (see below). Some ETs have been documented to be unusually emotional (possibly pride-related; Berliner, 1988; Tsui, 2003), and others to possess resilience, particularly in more challenging circumstances (Campbell, 1991). There is also strong evidence that many have "positive self-images" (Rollett, 2001, p. 27), "a sense of confidence in themselves" (Smith & Strahan, 2004, p. 365) or "a high level of self-efficacy" (Hanusova et al., 2014, p. 869), an insight, perhaps, into the source of the autonomy, ambition and resilience that many seem to possess.

3.4.7. Professionalism

There is strong evidence in the literature on ETs that they are often highly dedicated practitioners, willing to work hard when required (Bullough & Baughman, 1995). Many have a strong desire to continue learning (Schempp et al., 1998) through, for example, CPD activities (Hanusova et al., 2014) and in-service qualifications (Tsui, 2003).

There is very strong evidence that ETs value professional communities of practice, and collaborate regularly (Gross, 2014); many share resources with colleagues (Pepin et al. 2017), also helping them as leaders (Smith & Strahan, 2004), mentors, or on a more informal level, as peers. As Traianou's (2006) ET observes: "I feel able to support colleagues with any difficulties. Other teachers have told me that I have helped them to understand things" (p. 66).

Finally, there is strong evidence that ETs challenge themselves regularly by innovating, experimenting and taking risks (Milstein, 2015; Tsui, 2003). Many are also documented to reflect extensively on their practice (Campbell, 1991; Lawrie et al., 2019), often critically (Hanusova et al., 2013). Tsui (2003) links these different areas of professional practice together, noting that her ET, "was continuously working at the edge of

her competence … constantly reflecting on her teaching, making further improvements by seeking professional input and trying out ways to improve her own classroom practices." (p. 103).

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This third section of the literature review has identified a large number of similarities among studies of teacher expertise around the world, relating to the knowledge, cognition, beliefs, attributes, pedagogic practice and professionalism of expert teachers. The studies reviewed represent a variety of levels (although 48% involve secondary level) and a wide range of subjects (maths, sciences, foreign and second languages, language arts, physical education, music and dance). The only area of clear bias is national, with 59% of studies reviewed conducted in the USA, although 12 other countries are also reported from.

3.5. Studies on language teacher expertise

While this study avoids a strong subject-specific focus, it acknowledges that studies on language teacher expertise are likely to be of greater relevance to mine. Thus, this section looks at such studies in greater detail to enable cross-comparison with my findings later in the thesis.

Surprisingly few empirical studies have been carried out that claim a focus on second/foreign language teacher expertise. Of these, a number were rejected because selection criteria only included experience and/or qualification (Farrell, 2013; Farrokhi et al., 2011; Shin & Kellogg, 2007; Stewart, 2006; Wang, 2018; Yazdanmerh & Akbari, 2015; Yazdanpanah & Rahman, 2018), which, as discussed above, are alone usually considered insufficient for a study to be characterised as one of teacher expertise (Palmer et al., 2005; Tsui, 2009). The remainder are summarised in Table 4 and discussed below.

Table 4

Prior studies on language teacher expertise

Author/year	Type of study	Context; level; subject focus	Participant details reported
Tsui, 2003	Qualitative case study conducted in one school over an academic year.	Hong Kong; secondary; English.	4 teachers: 1 expert, 2 experienced non-experts, 1 novice.
Toraskar, 2015	Qualitative case study, conducted in 3 schools in the same city.	Pune, India; secondary; English.	3 expert teachers.
Andrews & McNeill, 2005	Brief case studies, incl. observation and interviews.	Hong Kong and UK; secondary and tertiary; English.	3 'good' teachers, also characterised as experts.
Hanusova et al., 2013, 2014; Ulicna et al., 2016	Interviews, qualitative analysis.	Czech republic; secondary; English and German.	30 expert teachers, 8 of whom participated in 2nd and 3rd studies.
Li & Zou, 2017	Mixed methods study on expert teachers' lesson planning.	Shanghai, China; secondary; English.	5 expert, 10 experienced non-experts, 6 novices.
Yuan & Zhang, 2019	Study on identity involving interviews, qualitative data.	China; primary; English.	2 expert teachers, 2 former expert teachers.

3.5.1. Tsui's study

Tsui's (2003) case study is well known. It involves four teachers working in the same school in Hong Kong, one of whom, Marina, is selected and discussed as an expert teacher. Tsui's research questions (p. 245) were:

1. What are the critical differences among expert, experienced, and novice teachers?
2. How does a teacher become an expert teacher?
3. What are the critical factors that shaped the development of expertise?

Tsui's study offers a convincing, detailed description of a teacher whose practices reveal evidence of expertise, through her dedication, professionalism, critical reflection and high standards, both for herself and her learners. She also provides useful evidence of the importance of problematization of practice in the development of teacher expertise.

However, Tsui's study is undermined by two weaknesses. Firstly, despite only involving one "expert teacher", she goes on to offer a generalised characterisation of expert language teacher practice in her final chapter that, she admits (p. xii), is heavily influenced by Bereiter & Scardamalia's (1993) research on writing expertise. Tsui does not hedge her findings, nor acknowledge the danger of generalising from a sample size of one.

Secondly, Tsui's sampling strategy is problematic. The "expert" teacher chosen had thrice studied for in-service qualifications in Tsui's own university faculty, with Tsui as her personal tutor on two occasions, including during Marina's MA, which was apparently concurrent with Tsui's study.[13] Tsui is not transparent about this relationship, stating that Marina was selected "on the basis of the very positive comments on her as a teacher from her course tutors, her principal, her colleagues" (p. 71). It is clear that Tsui had an influence on Marina's practice (Marina acknowledges this several times; pp. 90–91, p. 96), but Tsui discusses neither this, nor the "reactivity" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007) that is likely to occur in a study involving a teacher for whom she was practicum supervisor.

3.5.2. Toraskar's study

Toraskar's (2015) PhD case study of three expert Indian (Pune, Maharashtra) secondary exam class teachers is of great potential relevance to my research. Her research questions (p. 3) aimed to elucidate:

1. definitions of ELT expertise among the local community;
2. the effects of the "sociocultural context" on "shaping EFL teacher expertise";
3. characteristics of the teachers, both in terms of their classroom practices and participation in the local community.

Unfortunately, Toraskar has significant difficulty answering these interesting research questions. With regard to the first, she conducted only two interviews for only one of her three participants (she failed for the other two), and these, she admits (pp. 85–86), were largely unsuccessful, causing her to speculate on the answer based on indirect evidence. In the discussion of her second research question she fails to address sociocultural theory

[13] Both were stated as ongoing during Marina's eighth year as a teacher (see p. 71 and p. 82).

entirely (pp. 273–279), offering only a description of the many contextual challenges that her participant teachers and their learners faced.

Concerning her third question, Toraskar documents several interesting shared characteristics of the participant teachers in reasonable detail, including principled use of learners' languages for a range of purposes, their understanding of their learners' challenges, natures and needs, and some evidence that the participants had well-developed pedagogical content knowledge, although the complete absence of lesson extract data from her findings is concerning; only a few decontextualised "examples" are presented in the methodology chapter (pp. 77–82).

Two further concerns include her sampling strategy and exam class focus. She relied primarily on the opinions of a small number of "school principals/peers" to identify "good" teachers (pp. 65–66), a characterisation that Berliner perceives insufficient for the identification of expertise (Brandt, 1986). Further, her decision to study solely high-stakes exam class teachers almost certainly limits the accounts of expertise she offers severely, given Mody's (2013, p. 31) observation (also in Maharashtra) that "all teaching–learning in Class 10 is limited to preparation for board exams" and the related danger documented above (3.2.1 and 3.3.2) of mistaking effective exam preparation for expert teaching.

Toraskar's study is further marred by confusing discussion of data analysis and the inclusion of very few research tools, data extracts and audit trails in her appendices, all of which are necessary to provide the transparency that Bucci (2003) argues is a "vital" component of any study of teacher expertise. As such, I have treated this study with caution, drawing only on direct quotes from the teachers and lesson observation notes as potentially useful evidence.

3.5.3. Other language teacher studies with more specific foci

The study by Andrews and McNeill (2005) involves three "expert" (p. 174) teachers who received the highest grade on an advanced in-service practical qualification, a possible indicator of expertise (cf. Hattie, 2003). The authors focused primarily on aspects of their participants' knowledge, noting that all exhibited extensive subject knowledge, albeit with "gaps" (p. 174), well-developed PCK, knowledge of learners' difficulties and confidence engaging with language-related issues in the classroom. In the area of professional practice, all exhibited reflective skills, self-awareness, "a love of language" (p. 174) and clear interest

in their further (lifelong) learning. Only limited details are offered on their classroom practice, although these suggest they balanced form-focused instruction with more meaning-focused practice opportunities.

The three studies by Hanusova and colleagues (2013, 2014; Ulicna et al., 2016) appear to have involved well-theorised research questions as well as sufficient detail on methodology, which involved extensive data collection and transparency in coding procedures. Their sampling strategy was consistent with recommendations in the literature, as discussed above. The first study (2013) sought to analyse the nature of 30 foreign language teachers' expertise through semi-structured interviews following lesson observations. While their discussion is heavily dominated by Sternberg and Horvath's (1995) prototype, their findings are broadly consistent with a number of prior studies on expert teachers (e.g., Bond et al., 2000). They find evidence that their ETs have a holistic understanding of language and language teaching, recognise the importance of collaboration with colleagues, are interested in innovation and experimentation, and share both a critical perspective on their own competencies and the ability to form their own professional philosophy of practice. The second and third studies (Hanusova et al., 2014; Ulicna et al., 2016) involved more detailed interviews with eight of these teachers to analyse important features of their professional development and identity. They found that self-knowledge, intrinsic motivation, value system, job satisfaction, openness to change and ability to cope with the demands of the profession were all key features of participants' self-image (Hanusova et al., 2014), and that they engaged in lifelong learning, autonomous self-development through reflection and experimentation, valued their learners' opinions and worked closely with colleagues in mentoring roles (Ulicna et al., 2016). Unfortunately, none of these studies focused on classroom practices, providing little insight in this area, although they do support the hypothesis that in other aspects of their practice (e.g., knowledge base, cognition, identity, beliefs), no noticeable differences from teachers of other subjects are apparent.

Li and Zou's (2017) study of expert, experienced and novice EFL teacher lesson planning involved only single-criterion sampling (recommendations of local in-service teacher trainers) and involved artificial group planning sessions and interviews, rather than observation of participants' naturally observed planning procedure, hence it has low ecological validity. Nonetheless, they found that their ETs planned with greater "fluency and efficiency" (p. 236) than experienced or novice participants, and were more inclined to

propose more learner-centred lesson structures, with greater emphasis on meaning-focused activities and responsive form focus in the latter part of the lesson.

Yuan and Zhang's (2019) study focused on "identity (re)construction" (p. 1) of two ETs and two former ETs. Their sampling procedure was acceptable, although "teaching awards" (p. 7) are not qualified (see Berliner, 1986 and Tsui, 2005, for critical discussion). The two ETs in the study provide evidence of continuous, sometimes critical reflection, a desire to continue learning and an active CPD. One of the two active teachers, Qing, reports being a teacher researcher (p. 15), and the other, Hong, reports developing a soft CLIL-like approach to promote meaningful interaction (p. 16), and developed her learners' homework self-evaluation skills. There is evidence that both exhibited care for their learners and an interest in supporting disengaged/lower-achieving learners (pp. 18–21), although the authors relied entirely on self-report data, which should be treated with caution (Borg, 2006).

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This fourth section of the literature review has revealed a paucity of prior studies on language teacher expertise, which alone would suffice to justify the current study. However, the fact that many of these are marred by shortcomings provides further justification. Of those findings reported in the more reliable studies, the majority are consistent with those of the wider literature, indicating that many features of language teacher expertise are consistent with those of teachers of other subjects.

3.6. Effective teaching in the Global South

The final section of this literature review addresses prior research from the Global South. Excluding Toraskar's (2015) problematic study, no other research on teacher expertise from lower-income contexts was found. In the absence of such research, this section of the literature review discusses evidence from studies that document "effective pedagogy" in developing countries, given the significant overlap between the constructs of effectiveness and expertise noted above. Westbrook et al.'s (2013) definition of effective pedagogy for developing country contexts is adopted here: "those teaching and learning activities which make some observable change in students, leading to greater engagement and understanding and/or a measurable impact on student learning" (p. 8). This section of the review is mainly limited to the findings of more rigorous (likely more reliable) studies, including survey

reviews, large-scale studies and meta-analyses from low- and lower-middle income countries. Evidence comes mainly from Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, although one study from China's lowest income province was also included (Park & Hannum, 2001). Both qualitative research (e.g., Pryor et al., 2012; Westbrook et al., 2013) and quantitative studies since 2000 were reviewed, although the statistical, often econometric analyses included (e.g., Aslam & Rawal, 2015) shed little light onto classroom practices, as noted in Muralidharan's (2017) and Alexander's (2015) critiques (see 1.1. and 1.3 above).

Two general findings of importance emerge from this review, firstly that there is clear evidence that teacher quality matters[14] in developing countries, possibly even more than in developed countries (Buhl-Wiggers et al., 2018), and that more effective teachers have a strong positive impact on a range of measures of learning outcomes of their learners (Aslam & Kingdon, 2011; Buhl-Wiggers et al., 2018; Conn, 2017; Park & Hannum, 2001; Power & McCormick, 2014). Secondly, there is evidence of the "deeply contextual" nature of effective pedagogy in at least some contexts in the Global South (Aslam et al., 2016, p. iii; also Alexander, 2008). To illustrate this, a number of studies note that teachers who come from their learners' village are more effective than ones who do not (Aslam & Rawal, 2015; Park & Hannum, 2001; Singh, 2013); a difference that may be, in part, language/dialect-related. The following sections document findings in more specific areas of practice.

3.6.1. Curriculum coverage and planning

Despite evidence that curricula are frequently overambitious in developing country contexts (Alexander, 2000; Banerji, 2019a; Pritchett & Beatty, 2012, 2015; World Bank, 2019b), there is evidence that more effective teachers are able to manage and tailor this curriculum appropriately to their learners' needs (Westbrook et al., 2013). Correlations have also been found between careful planning (not necessarily written) and improved learning outcomes (Aslam & Kingdon, 2011; Buhl-Wiggers et al., 2018; Westbrook et al., 2013), and between the regular use of varied TLMs and improved outcomes (Bhattacharjea et al., 2011; Addy et al., 2012; Pryor et al., 2012; Westbrook et al., 2013).

[14] i.e., it is known to have a demonstrable, significant impact on learning.

3.6.2. Interpersonal practices and the classroom community

Westbrook et al. (2013) document the importance of safe, supportive, inclusive learning environments in more effective classrooms, where positive relationships are prioritised (also Addy et al., 2012). In India, correlations have been noted between improved exam scores and more "child-friendly" classrooms, where teachers smile, laugh and joke more (Bhattacharjea et al., 2011), or are considered by learners to treat them fairly (Singh, 2013). There is some evidence that more effective teachers were careful to be inclusive of marginalised and disadvantaged students (Grimes et al., 2011), including in India (Sarangapani et al. 2013; Sharma, 2013).

3.6.3. Teaching practices

A number of sources indicate that more effective teachers working in the Global South adopt an eclectic approach to methodology. Westbrook et al. (2013, p. 37) note a "judicious combination of both student- and teacher-centred pedagogical practices, integrating newer pedagogies with more traditional ones" among more effective teachers (also Addy et al., 2012; Mamba & Putsoa, 2018). Nordstrum (2015, p. 44) notes more effective teachers typically begin with whole group instruction followed by independent (individual) work in ways that mirror "Direct Instruction" (see Hattie, 2009).

Buhl-Wiggers et al. (2018) note that teachers who are "active throughout [the] classroom" (p. 28; also Addy et al., 2012; Sharma, 2013) and increase student participation and task focus (i.e., engagement) are more effective, consistent with Westbrook et al.'s (2013) key finding that interactive, communicative pedagogy encouraging student engagement and participation leads to improved outcomes, a finding also supported by Pryor et al. (2012) and Nordstrum (2015).

Consistent with constructivist approaches, there is evidence that more effective teachers link learning to learners' lives and experiences in the Global South (Grimes et al., 2011; Sharma, 2013), including India, where Bhattacharjea et al. (2011, p. 8) note that teachers who make use of "local examples" have a higher impact on learner exam performance.

There is evidence of the importance of varied questioning—both open and closed—to effective teaching (Mamba & Putsoa, 2018; Sharma, 2013; Westbrook et al., 2013), and the

importance of creating space for learner questions (Addy et al., 2012; Nordstrum, 2015; Westbrook et al., 2013), which is also linked to improved exam scores in India (Bhattacharjea et al., 2011).

With regard to collaborative learning, there is consistent, although sometimes weak evidence (in terms of effect sizes) that the inclusion of "student to student interactions" (Buhl-Wiggers et al., 2018, p. 31) has a positive impact on outcome measures, with evidence that groupwork can be effective in large classes (Pryor et al., 2012) and at upper secondary levels (Westbrook et al., 2013). In India, Bhattacharjea et al. (2011) noted small group work had a significant impact on learning at grade 4, but not at grade 2.

3.6.4. Languaging practices

There is only limited discussion of teacher languaging practices in the literature reviewed, although Westbrook et al. (2013, p. 58) note that the use of familiar, local languages "was seen to greatly facilitate student learning" and document regular "use of L1 and codeswitching" among more effective teachers (p. 47), a finding corroborated by Pryor et al. (2012). Studies that focus on languaging practices in developing countries provide extensive evidence of the importance of incorporating learners' prior/more enabled languages in the classroom (see Anderson & Lightfoot, 2018; Heugh, 2021), a finding also supported by Toraskar's (2015) study.

3.6.5. Formative assessment and feedback to learners

There is little evidence in the area of formative assessment. Pryor et al. (2012) and Mamba and Putsoa (2018) note it was rare, but the former also document evidence of a "diagnostic approach to assessment" (p. 482) among more effective teachers, who also provide support to lower achievers, also noted by Conn (2017). Westbrook et al. (2013) note that more effective teachers provide useful, individualised feedback to learners (also Addy et al., 2012) and Singh (2013) notes a correlation between regular teacher correction of notebooks and higher exam achievement.

3.6.6. Teacher cognition and attitude

There is evidence that teacher knowledge is important, including subject knowledge (Aslam & Rawal, 2015), and PCK (Mamba & Putsoa, 2018; Toraskar, 2015; Westbrook et al.,

2013). Aslam and Kingdon (2011) found a small but significant relationship between English teachers' English proficiency and pupil exam achievement. There is also evidence that teacher confidence and attitude to work are important, often correlating with measures of teacher efficacy (Aslam & Rawal, 2015; Westbrook et al., 2013), including in India (Sehgal et al., 2016; Singh, 2013). Pryor et al. (2012) also note a tendency towards a "more reflective approach" among more effective teachers in East Africa, who were also willing to take personal responsibility for their learners' learning, recognising that "if a child could not read it may be the fault of the teacher" (p. 482).

3.6.7. Kuchah's study in Cameroon

One further PhD study of potential relevance to mine was identified from Cameroon (Kuchah, 2013). While the primary focus was contextually appropriate pedagogy, Kuchah's case study involved an attempt to find "good" teachers of English. He also provided opportunities for Cameroonian teachers and learners to discuss issues of effective ELT practice. Limitations included Kuchah's participant sampling strategy, which depended on the reliability of recommendations of "pedagogic authorities and professionals" (p. 85), including school inspectors (p. 86) within an inspectorate community that he is critical of. His addition of an extra participant partway through data collection based on learners' opinions (p. 86) is also unusual sampling practice, although is arguably justifiable in an exploratory study of this nature. Despite these limitations, Kuchah's findings are insightful. While learner and teacher perceptions of "good/appropriate" (p. xii) language teaching differed, shared beliefs concerning best practice were identified, including a belief in active participation of students in a stress-free learning environment, as well as the importance of explanation, demonstration, exemplification, effective questioning, the use of teaching aids and realia and the inclusion of songs, rhymes and stories (pp. 273–274). It is notable that many of these qualities are consistent with the literature from the Global South reviewed above, particularly the findings of Westbrook et al. (2013).

3.7. Conclusion

This literature review has shown not only that there are no reliable prior studies of teacher expertise from the Global South, but also that there are very few expertise studies from the field of language teaching; most that exist are either methodologically problematic or

restricted in scope, shedding limited light onto classroom practice, in particular. Despite this, the available evidence indicates many features of language teacher expertise that are consistent with those documented in the wider literature. Likewise, important commonalities can also be found between the findings of effectiveness studies conducted in developing countries with those of the wider ET literature, consistent with my contingent hypothesis that some features of teacher expertise seem to be widespread (if not universal). These seem to include the caring nature of expert/effective teachers, their ability to build meaningful learning communities and their ability to draw upon their learners' local knowledge and background schemata to facilitate learning.

Most importantly of all, this literature review finds that teacher quality matters no less in developing countries than in developed countries through evidence that effective teaching leads to improved outcomes in such contexts. The fact that, excluding Toraskar's problematic study, no prior research documenting the practices, cognition and other characteristics of expert teachers working in the Global South was found lays bare the apparent neglect of this important area of research. The current study is therefore justified.

Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1. Aims, research questions and phases of the study

The broad aim of this study at its inception was to offer an account of teacher expertise in a Global South context, with English as the subject focus. I aimed to investigate the extent to which the practices and cognition of participant teachers were similar to each other, and similar to, or different from, those of expert teachers from prior studies in higher-income contexts. These intentions led me to choose case study as my research method. However, important questions concerning which contexts, what type of account, and how many cases would be studied remained open. Over time, opportunities have provided answers to these questions: the opportunity to work in India provided an appropriate context and my decision to make the study participatory has informed both the type of account and research questions that it has investigated as well as the number of participants included. The following two primary research questions have crystallised over this period:

1. What are the features of the pedagogic and professional practice, related cognition and beliefs of expert teachers working in Indian state-sponsored secondary education?
2. What commonalities and differences can be identified when comparing these features?

The following question, while not investigated through the research methodology, is also addressed in the discussion section of the thesis:

3. To what extent are the commonalities identified consistent with those of expert teachers in other researched contexts?

When combined with a methodological aim to make the study as participatory as possible (discussed below), these intentions led me to develop seven phases to the study, as shown in Table 5. The first phase, concurrent with the literature review, involved developing a theory of expertise and related, appropriate recruitment criteria, leading to the recruitment process of the second phase. A one-day meeting was then conducted with participant teachers both to plan the primary focus of the study and to agree on other potential outcomes based on participants' shared interests in the third phase. This was followed by data collection in phase four. Individual case data analysis took place in phase five, although this

naturally overlapped with phases four and six as I began analysing and comparing cases while still collecting data; in this sense, "emergent theory" informed subsequent data collection (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 158; also see Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). The final phase involved writing up the study itself. Each of these phases is discussed in detail below after discussion of the participatory element and the research paradigm adopted.

Table 5

Seven phases to the study

Phase	PhD study	Participatory element
1. Theorising expertise and developing recruitment criteria	Drawing on literature review and background research, I developed a theory and definition of teacher expertise, followed by criteria for recruiting participants for the main study.	An inclusive approach to participant recruitment was developed.
2. Recruitment of participants	Participants for the main study were recruited through a call for expressions of interest and video-interviews.	⇩
3. Planning of study and outputs	A meeting with study participants was organised to plan the study (focus, research questions, approach, participant welfare).	During the meeting we decided on outputs/ outcomes of interest to participants (co-authored book).
4. Data collection	Initial pilot study was conducted and data analysed. This was followed by visits to remaining participants to complete data collection.	⇩
5. Individual case data analysis / participant chapter writing	Data analysis for individual cases was conducted, including transcription, coding and analysis of data to build individual case descriptions.	Participants wrote chapters for co-authored book.
6. Comparative data analysis	Cross-case categories and themes were developed to enable comparison. Both commonalities and differences across cases were identified and compared to wider literature.	Participants peer-reviewed each other's chapters.
7. Completion	Thesis was written.	Book was published.

4.1.1. The participatory element

At an early stage in the study, through discussion with my supervisor, I chose to make it participatory. Both concerns about the likely power differential occurring in such a cross-

cultural study (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007), and my hope that it could be useful, rather than exploitative, both to participants and other teachers in India, prompted me to explore the participatory research literature for potential models of relevance. I wanted to create an opportunity for the participants to contribute, both to the design and "outputs" of the project, so that mine would not be the only voice at the end of it, while also retaining the non-interventionist focus implicit in a case study approach. This presented a challenge, because the vast majority of participatory research[15] in educational contexts is action research, often involving some kind of intervention and participant data collection (e.g., Burns, 2005; Smith & Rebolledo, 2018).

I found justification in the wider social studies literature, particularly for community development and planning (e.g., Bergold & Thomas, 2012; Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Pretty, 1995), and one paper on education (Hansen et al., 2001). As well as recommending a flexible, iterative and reflexive approach, several of these authors argue both sides must benefit from the research process, and all converge on the belief that to ensure a study is truly participatory, there must be meaningful interaction at the early design stage, when "[t]he most important distinctions centre on how and by whom is the research question formulated and by and for whom are research findings used [sic]" (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995, p. 1668). For this reason I decided to conduct a planning meeting as soon as participants had been identified, bringing them together to discuss key elements of the study, such as its focus, indicative research questions and logistics. In order to achieve greater equity and to give participants voice, I also planned a discussion of how they might also produce something of their own related to our identified aims, whether this be practical resources for other teachers or an opportunity for them to reflect or report on their expertise/practice.

4.1.2. Paradigmatic issues

I have adopted a critical realist paradigm for this study. My beliefs in this area align with Maxwell's:

[15] "participatory research" is here defined loosely (as the term and its interpretations are contested) as research which involves participants to varying degrees in making decisions and/or fulfilling roles traditionally seen to be the responsibility of the researcher(s) (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995).

> Critical realists … retain an ontological realism (there is a real world that exists independently of our perceptions, theories, and constructions) while accepting a form of epistemological constructivism and relativism (our *understanding* of this world is inevitably a construction from our own perspectives and standpoint). (Maxwell, 2012a, p. 5)

This is consistent with the belief, implicit in my research questions, that there is something of use to be gained from comparing the practices of teachers in different contexts (implying generalisability and transferability; Brannen, 2005). I also agree with Hammersley's (1992) comparable notion of "subtle realism", according to which "we can recognise the fact that accounts are selective constructions without abandoning the idea that they may represent phenomena independently of themselves, and of the researcher, more or less accurately" (p. 5).

My intention to involve participants in shaping the focus of the research to some extent left open the question of which methodological tools I would adopt. If, for example, they favoured a "matched pairs" study (Leustek, 2018), this would facilitate more direct comparison with non-participant teachers, potentially allowing for a more quantitative analysis of the data. And if they favoured a more ethnographic study, this would lead to a more qualitative analysis, and less statistical comparison. Usefully, a critical realist perspective allows for such "methodological flexibility" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 124), across both qualitative and quantitative approaches, as it recommends methods of data collection and analysis appropriate to aims (Maxwell, 2012a). The fact that the participants chose a "whole person" focus led to the study taking on a more ethnographic flavour, for which I combined tools and (some) recommendations from Stake's (2006) procedure for "multiple case study" with Atkinson and Hammersley's (2007) guidance for ethnographic research, itself consistent with Hammersley's subtle realist position (1992). I agree with Bartlett and Vavrus (2017, p. 34; also see Flyvbjerg, 2011) that cases provide "rich theoretical insights that can be transferred to other times and places." Further, my interest in identifying explanatory relationships between phenomena at the cross-case analysis phase indicates an affinity with Maxwell's process theory (2012a, p. 36), what Bartlett and Vavrus (2017, p. 7) call "how and why phenomena". At the end of this chapter, I make use of Maxwell's (2012a) discussion of validity to assess the degree to which this study and the methodological tools adopted demonstrate sufficient rigour within a critical realist frame of reference.

4.2. Theorising expertise and developing sampling criteria

I conducted my literature review in parallel with my planning of the participatory element of the study, each informing the other, as I sought a means to conceptualise expertise that would be consistent with my research aims without losing the more widely understood essence of the concept. The development of a non-exclusive, community-referenced definition of expertise (see 3.2.3) was, I felt, consistent with this.

This initial theorisation of the key construct of the study informed what is perhaps the most important methodological decision made when researching teacher expertise: how one identifies and selects study participants (Palmer et al., 2005; Tsui, 2005). As Tsui (2005, p. 171) notes, "so far no commonly accepted criteria for identifying expert teachers have been established". This issue is particularly important when studying expertise cross-contextually, due to the danger of using criteria that are appropriate in the researcher's background context yet may not be valid indicators of expertise in the research context (Alexander, 2000; Tsui, 2005). Given the evidence presented above that a number of attempts to study teacher expertise may have resulted in inappropriate selection (e.g., Pygmalion sampling), I faced the challenge of developing a means to recruit participants that was appropriate to a participatory study yet would also avoid the danger of my imposing my own (western/northern) beliefs concerning the attributes of expert teachers during the process.

During my literature review, I built up a list of potential selection criteria used in prior expertise studies. For each criterion, I identified one or more indicators using the labels: 'prerequisite' (*sine qua non* criteria), 'potential indicator', 'likely indicator', and 'useful' (of additional benefit), considering at all times both whether an indicator was appropriate to my definition and possible to operationalise in the study context. Indicators that were considered problematic in India (or generally) were treated with caution (e.g., student exam performance) or rejected. After careful consideration I also rejected one criterion that is often used, that of stakeholder/social nomination (Palmer et al., 2005). While I had access to a number of local, regional and even national advisers capable of nominating participants (e.g., SCERT professionals, NCERT scholars, academics and teacher educators), making use of them would bypass many teachers who may be interested in participating, simultaneously narrowing down the pool of potential participants markedly and removing equity of access to the study (a participatory element). I was also concerned that nominated teachers may participate due to a feeling of obligation, rather than an interest in taking part – such interest

was essential to the success of the participatory element of the study. Stakeholder nomination is also susceptible to potential biases caused by a stakeholder's personal perceptions of effective teaching. Studies that draw primarily upon this criterion (e.g., Toraskar, 2015) are largely dependent on the quality of judgement of such individuals. Table 6 summarises criteria previously used, also including critical commentary and my reasons for use or rejection in this study.

Table 6

Critical evaluation of participant selection criteria

Criterion	**Precedent(s) in literature**	**Commentary**	**Indicators**
Interest in participating in the study	Borko & Livingston, 1989.	A minimum prerequisite for ethical and/or participatory involvement, yet rarely discussed. Potentially of high importance in a context where teachers may be overworked and demotivated. Enthusiastic participants may be less likely to withdraw, and more willing to provide extensive, rich data.	**Prerequisite:** Interest in participating. **Useful:** Enthusiastic about participating.
Experience	Bereita & Scardamalia, 1993; Berliner, 2004; Caspari-Sadeghi & Konig, 2018; Palmer et al., 2005; Tochon & Munby, 1993; Tsui, 2005.	Sources typically indicate 5 years (Tsui, 2005; Palmer et al., 2005), 5–7 years (Berliner, 2004), 7 years (Tochon & Munby, 1993) or 10 years (Bereita & Scardamalia, 1993; Caspari-Sadeghi & Konig, 2018) of prior experience are necessary. Palmer et al. (2005) conclude that 5 years' full-time teaching should suffice for expertise to develop, and also recommend 3 years in the current context, following Berliner (1994).	**Prerequisite:** Over 5 years' full-time, 3 at secondary level. **Useful:** Over 7 years' full-time.
Relevant qualification	Palmer et al., 2005; Hanusova et al., 2014; Solmon & Lee, 1991; Tochon & Munby, 1993.	Palmer et al. (2005, p. 22) problematise "highly qualified" as a valid criterion, and suggest that qualification is a "necessary but not sufficient" criterion. Solmon and Lee (1991) and Tochon and Munby (1993) considered Masters degree a relevant criterion, thus judged a potential indicator if used in combination with others.	**Prerequisite:** Relevant teaching degree (e.g., BEd.). **Potential indicator:** Master's degree in relevant subject.
High performance in teacher	Andrews & McNeill, 2005; Tsui, 2003.	Potentially problematic; dependent on how course construes quality (e.g., according to exogenous norms) and	**Potential indicator:**

Criterion	Precedent(s) in literature	Commentary	Indicators
education program		susceptible to danger of teacher being influenced by course content during study (e.g., Tsui, 2003). Appropriate courses (e.g., MA TESOL) rare in India.	Evidence of high performance on relevant teacher education program.
Receipt of awards	Copeland et al., 1994; Standley & Madsen, 1991; Swanson et al., 1990; Tsui, 2005; Turner-Bisset, 2001; Westerman, 1991.	Tsui (2005) discusses critically, noting that award criteria should be checked. Such awards are frequently given in India, although rarely based on classroom observation. Scholarship awards are more rigorously vetted, although may be biased to criteria of awarding country (e.g., Fulbright Scholarship from USA). Thus potential indicator only.	**Potential indicator:** Regional, association or national teaching award. Scholarship award.
Student performance-based criteria	Ayres et al., 2004; Leinhardt & Greeno, 1986; Silberstein & Tamir, 1991.	Used in only 3 of 27 studies reviewed by Palmer et al. (2005), who note that it "should be the *sine qua non* of teaching expertise" (p. 22), yet acknowledge significant challenges discussed in the wider literature (see Darling-Hammond, 2012; Hattie, 2003). Given concerns with the validity and reliability of exam scores in India (Bambawale et al., 2018; Gandhi Kingdon, 2007; Graddol, 2010), this can only be considered a potential indicator.	**Potential indicator:** Evidence of student exam results higher than average.
Stakeholder nomination (e.g., head teacher, district board)	Ethell & McMeniman, 2000; Hanusova et al., 2014; Palmer et al., 2005; Toraskar, 2015.	Palmer et al. (2005) note 15 of 27 studies used nomination by school administrators, esp. principals, or district boards, mainly in USA. Olson (1992, cited in Tsui, 2005) notes that criteria used by such personnel are not always clear. Problematic in India, where head teacher and district inspector lesson observations are rare (Bambawale et al. 2018; CSF, 2020); such stakeholders may not be well informed.	**REJECTED.** Susceptible to stakeholder bias and incompatible with equitable (e.g., participant initiated) recruitment in a participatory study.
Professional group membership	Bond et al., 2000; Palmer et al., 2005; Vogler et al., 1992.	Palmer et al. (2005) note this was used in 13 of 27 studies. There are two large, English language teacher associations in India (ELT@I and AINET) that could be used; active participation, rather than	**Potential indicator:** Evidence of active participation in

Criterion	Precedent(s) in literature	Commentary	Indicators
		simply membership, is likely to be a more reliable indicator.	(English) teacher association.
Evidence of active CPD	Rollett, 2001; Vogler et al., 1992.	Rollett (2001) saw "continued participation in various higher-level teacher training seminars" as a cross-culturally viable criterion, and Vogler et al. (1992) considered prior presentation of papers at "conferences/inservices" one of several indicative criteria. If voluntary, likely to indicate motivation, esp. in India (Bolitho & Padwad 2013; Padwad & Dixit, 2013). Experience as a presenter at higher level conferences would indicate both social recognition and evidence of active CPD, thus a likely indicator.	**Potential indicator:** Evidence of recent voluntary participation in conferences, workshops, CPD programs, etc. **Likely indicator:** Experience presenting at state or national workshops or conferences.
Teacher educator experience (e.g., trainer, mentor, curriculum development specialist, etc.)	Goodwyn, 2011; Swanson et al., 1990; Meyer, 2004; Vogler et al., 1992; Wolff et al., 2015.	While Palmer et al. (2005) categorise this under "professional or social group membership", this role is potentially more reliable than some social recognition indicators (e.g. stakeholder nomination) given that teacher educators will likely both have been selected for their expertise locally, and further assessed during teacher education work. Important to ensure that this is alongside a regular teaching position (Wolff et al., 2015). Mentors used by Goodwyn (2011), Meyer (2004), Swanson et al. (1990) and Vogler et al. (1992).	**Likely indicator:** Evidence of recent experience in teacher educator role (e.g., as mentor in own school, trainer on top-down initiatives, action research mentor, etc.) but only alongside regular teaching position.
Researcher selection based on classroom observation	Bromme & Steinbring, 1994; Carter et al., 1987; Geary & Groer, 1994; Moallem, 1998; Solmon & Lee, 1991.	Inherently problematic for case study due to danger of Pygmalion sampling: participants chosen on classroom-based criteria will always confirm the importance of those criteria. Cannot be used for exploratory studies, particularly cross-culturally, where *a priori* assumptions regarding nature of expert teaching practice must be avoided.	**REJECTED.**
Researcher screening	Crawford et al., 2005; Sabers et al., 1991; Webb et al., 1997.	This has happened in a number of ways, including discussion with nominators (e.g., Webb et al., 1997) or use of questionnaires (e.g., Crawford et al.,	**Useful:** Participation in screening may signal

Criterion	Precedent(s) in literature	Commentary	Indicators
		2005). Potentially useful second stage, although may lead to cherry-picking of participants (Pygmalion sampling again). May be useful in a cross-cultural study, providing screening avoids evaluation of classroom practice.	commitment and provide opportunities for both parties to make informed decisions.

This review enabled me to identify three realistic 'prerequisite' criteria as necessary but not sufficient markers. The first was interest in participating in the study, particularly important in both participatory and potentially demanding ethnographic studies (Traianou, 2007), especially in developing countries, where teachers are likely to be facing significant challenges in their day-to-day lives. The second was at least five years' relevant experience, including three years at secondary level, given what is known about the context-specific nature of teacher expertise (Berliner, 2001a). The third was a relevant qualification, such as a Bachelor in Education (BEd.) to ensure the teacher meets government expectations for practising teachers (Government of India, 2009). The 'potential indicators' and 'likely indicators' of expertise identified, if combined, would provide reasonable evidence that a teacher could be characterised as "expert". I provisionally set a desired minimum threshold of either one likely and two potential indicators, or four potential indicators for selection.

4.3. Recruitment of participants

Bringing all the above factors together, I decided upon a two-stage process to participant recruitment (Palmer et al. also recommend a "two-gate identification procedure", albeit somewhat different to mine; 2005, p. 23). The first stage would invite initial expressions of interest by potential participants (such participant-initiated involvement was deemed most equitable), confirm inclusion in the target population (full-time, permanent secondary school teachers of English[16]) and allow for provisional screening of certain criteria, subject to later confirmation. The second stage would involve an interview; a two-way discussion in which both parties would be able to ask questions, so that both could make fully informed

[16] Private school teachers were not excluded at this stage.

decisions. Given that my subject focus was English language teaching, I decided to use AINET (www.theainet.net), as one of India's two main English teacher associations, to access potential participants; key stakeholders within AINET had expressed an interest in supporting the study.

4.3.1. The expression of interest form

An Expression of Interest (EoI) form (see Appendix A) was developed, beginning with an overview of the project and intended recruitment procedure. It collected background details (e.g., school type) and included items to check inclusion criteria (e.g., contact hours per week) and prerequisite criteria (e.g., experience). The most important item, question 10, presented potential indicators of expertise (reworded from Table 6) and asked respondents to initially self-assess the applicability of the indicators through a discursive response to the question: "Why do you (or those around you who encouraged you to participate) believe that you are an effective teacher?". The term "effective" rather than "expert" teacher was used on the form; discussion with experts on education in India at the time[17] indicated that this term would communicate the study's intended focus (pedagogy) more reliably, and be less likely to intimidate potential participants than "expert", which may be interpreted as an indicator primarily of subject knowledge in the Indian context. The EoI form was extensive, partly through necessity, although this length also served to assess respondents' initial commitment to the project; applicants who were less committed would be less likely to complete it in sufficient detail.

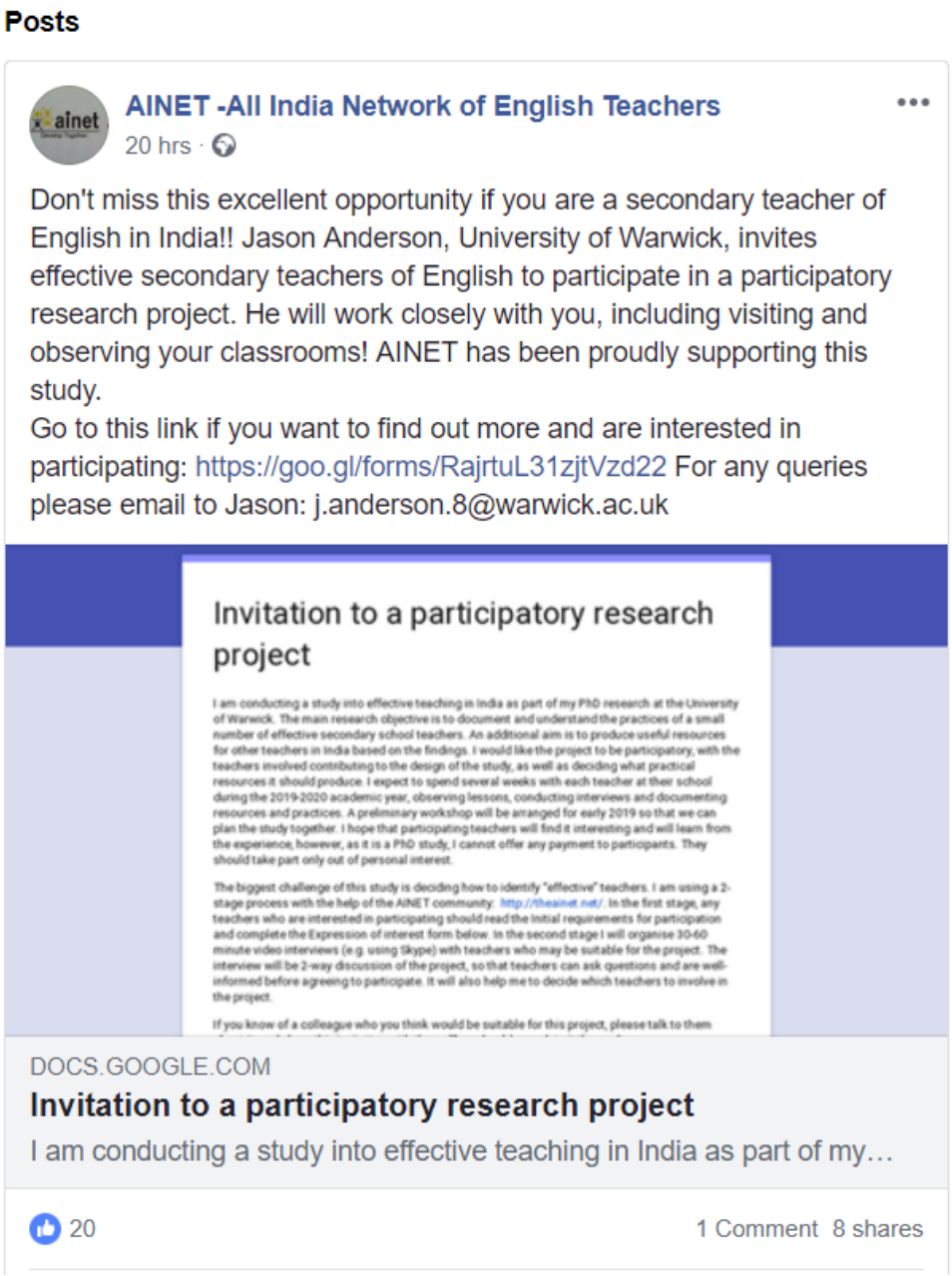
4.3.2. Distribution and responses

The EoI form was distributed in both electronic document and online survey form via gatekeepers of the AINET network, who shared it through email lists, social media channels (e.g., Facebook™, see Figure 6) and messaging networks (e.g., What'sApp™ groups).

[17] E.g., A. Padwad, personal communication, March 3, 2018.

Figure 6

Invitation to participate as shared by AINET on social media



Issues of equity in access were considered carefully and discussed with contacts in AINET when choosing to use only electronic/online modalities for recruitment. Given that the vast majority of teachers in India at the time (2018) had both Smartphones and internet access, providing the form could be completed on a Smartphone, it was felt that most, if not all eligible participants would be able to respond. Besides this, my pragmatic need to interact with them through the internet (e.g., email, video meetings) largely dictated the need for a

degree of computer literacy that can reasonably be expected of most effective teachers working in India today.

The EoI remained open for five weeks (Oct–Nov 2018). Both directly accessible online evidence (see "8 shares" in Figure 6 above) and feedback from contacts within AINET indicates that it was shared quite widely, raising the possibility that it may have been shared beyond the AINET core community. Given that the interview process would enable me to establish their extent of activity in either AINET or other professional groups (e.g., ELTAI), this was not a concern.

Twenty expressions of interest were received. Of these, 16 achieved initial inclusion and prerequisite criteria (others lacked sufficient experience or secondary teaching hours). Of these, 13 had provided sufficient detail on the form, particularly in response to item 10 (averaging 183 words), all indicating the presence of potential indicators of expertise (I did not exclude any at this stage, judging that these could be discussed in detail during the interview). The remaining three had provided insufficient detail for question 10 (e.g., one respondent wrote only: "At the end I get good response from my students"), and were emailed to request they provide more details. None of these three responded to two email requests, leaving 13 who were invited to interview. 11 of these responded to the invitation, and an interview was arranged.

4.3.3. Interviews and participant teacher profiles

40–60 minute interviews were conducted with the 11 potential participants using video conferencing software, following a semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix D). I began by providing further information about the study and inviting questions. We then discussed their responses to item 10 in the EoI in detail so that I was able to make a provisional decision regarding indicators of expertise that could be easily confirmed (e.g., MA qualifications, scholarship awards). In other areas, (e.g., student performance indicators, teacher educator work), we agreed this could be verified *in situ* if they participated in the study. One item (8) was initially included to assess how they conceptualised problems (a potential additional indicator of expertise; Bereita & Scardamalia, 1993; Berliner, 2001a), but proved to be unnecessary, (see below). Finally, practical issues of access to the school, my accommodation and their needs as potential participants were discussed to ensure that no insurmountable difficulties were identified – none were.

During the interview process, it came to light that two of the 11 could not guarantee full-time classes during the 2019–20 academic year, and thus did not meet inclusion criteria. Of the nine that remained, all met at least one likely indicator of expertise (all had experience of work as teacher educators) and at least three additional potential indicators of expertise (see Table 7) totalling at least five indicators each, thus all were invited to take part in the study. While the challenge of conducting nine case studies was significant, I was aware that one or more participants may withdraw before data collection began. All accepted the offer to participate in the study.

An important advantage was gained by my not needing to reject any of the nine interviewees who met inclusion criteria: the potential danger of the influence of researcher bias on selecting study participants (i.e., Pygmalion sampling) was removed. The only evaluation I had conducted was comparatively objective; the degree to which each met predetermined inclusion criteria and indicators of expertise.

Table 7

Evidence of indicators of expertise for participant teachers

Interviewee	Prerequisites	Potential indicators met	Likely indicators met
1. Raju[1]	13 years' experience. BEd. qualified.	1. MA English. 2. 10 years of high student achievement (100% pass rate) in SSC exams.[2] 3. Active CPD (currently completing two online CPD programmes and classroom research project). 4. Active participant in English TA (state secretary for ELTAI).	1. Teacher educator at state and district level (two projects cited, one training, one mentoring).
2. Vinay	16 years' experience. BEd. qualified.	1. MA English. 2. International scholarship award (Fulbright). 3. Active CPD (active blogger, teacher researcher). 4. Active participant in English TA (ELTAI state level).	1. Teacher educator at state level (incl. contributor to international teacher education publications, action research mentor on two recent projects). 2. Presenter at national and state conferences (two examples cited).

Interviewee	Prerequisites	Potential indicators met	Likely indicators met
3. Shekhar	11 years' experience. BEd. qualified.	1. MA English. 2. Regional and national teaching awards. 3. Active CPD (formed English teacher club; active participant in AINET conferences; article writer for local journals). 4. Active participant in English TA (AINET).	1. Teacher educator at state level (3 training projects cited). 2. Experience presenting at national conference (AINET, incl. presentation award).
4. Gajanan	20 years' experience. MEd. qualified.	1. MA English. 2. Active CPD (participation in three development programs, incl. international). 3. Active participant in TA (founder of district centre for English teachers).	1. Teacher educator at district level (DIET resource person: management of state level programs, research project, incl. award won for teacher development work). 2. Presenter at national conferences.
5. Dipika	24 years' experience. BEd. qualified.	1. MA English. CISELT. 2. Active CPD (development of resource materials for local TA, poster presentation award at AINET conference). 3. Active participant in TA (founder of local teacher support group).	1. Teacher educator at state level (3 training projects). 2. Presenter at national conferences.
6. Nurjahan	7 years' experience. BEd. qualified.	1. MA English. 2. Active CPD (blogger for British Council India, completed two online courses, attended national conferences). 3. Active participant in two English TAs (AINET 'ambassador'; IATEFL member).	1. Teacher educator at state level (five training projects cited, incl. teacher research mentor). 2. Experience presenting at national conferences (incl. presentation award).
7. Manjusha	25 years' experience. BEd. qualified.	1. MA English. 2. 3 years of high student achievement (>96% pass rate in HSSC exams). [2] 3. Active CPD (conducted and presented on teacher research, regular participant in national conferences and online programmes).	1. Teacher educator at state level (six projects cited, incl. curriculum advisor and materials writer at state level). 2. Experience presenting at national conferences.

Interviewee	Prerequisites	Potential indicators met	Likely indicators met
		4. Active resource person for English TA (AINET).	
8. Kuheli	25 years' experience. BEd. qualified.	1. MA English. 2. Scholarship award winner (Hornby Trust). 3. 3 years of high student achievement (100% pass rate in HSSC and SSC exams). [2] 4. Active CPD (regular participant in online CPD courses, conferences). 5. Active participant in 4 English TAs (AINET, IATEFL, Asia TEFL, TESOL).	1. Teacher educator at state level (incl. writer of international peer-reviewed academic articles, state curriculum design, three projects cited, incl. teacher research mentor). 2. Experience presenting for leading national organisation (British Council) at international conferences.
9. R. (anonymised)	7.5 years' experience. BEd. qualified.	1. MA English. 2. Active CPD (conducts action research, participated in international workshop). 3. Active participant in English TA (AINET).	1. Teacher educator at state level (three projects cited, incl. contribution to international publication). 2. Experience presenting at international conference.

Notes. 1. Participant teachers are not anonymised in this study (see 4.6.1.4). 2. National pass rates in SSC and HSSC were 79% and 78% respectively in 2016 (MHRD, 2018).

Shortly before data collection began, the ninth participant ('R.') had to withdraw, due to promotion to a headteacher position. This left eight participant teachers (hereafter PTs) who completed the project. Raju was chosen at an early stage for the pilot study due to his confidence that there would be no difficulty gaining access to his classroom.

By chance, the eight participants represented a wide range of contexts (two urban, two semi-urban, four rural), experience levels (7–25 years), a 50–50 balance of genders, and even a range of personal backgrounds (e.g., class and religion). All worked in either government (4) or government-aided (4) schools. The only factor where more diversity would have been desired was curricular. Five of the eight worked under the same state board – Maharashtra.[18] Two were from Telangana, and one from West Bengal.

[18] Possibly a reflection of the higher AINET membership in Maharashtra, the state where the organisation originated.

4.4. Planning of study and outputs

My review of comparable studies uncovered no prior participatory case studies of teachers in which participants had contributed to the "shaping of research" (Hansen et al., 2001, p. 302) as is recommended in the participatory research literature (e.g., Cornwall, 2008; Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). Thus, I designed this element from scratch. I chose to organise an initial online meeting with participants to propose a longer one-day face-to-face meeting in which they could contribute meaningfully and in detail to the study design. During the online meeting (in November 2018) we discussed, firstly, the degree to which participants were comfortable with a case study approach (this was one of two elements of my initial imposition on the design, alongside the need for the single-authored PhD dissertation as an output). Secondly, we agreed upon what we would discuss during the face-to-face meeting. Five broad topics were identified:

1. Exploration of roles of participants and researcher;
2. The focus of the PhD study;
3. A co-authored publication produced by the participants;
4. Participant group reflection without the researcher;
5. Timetabling of case study visits and practical issues.

A tentative date (February 2019) and location (Hyderabad) for the face-to-face meeting were agreed upon and the pilot study was scheduled to take place afterwards, allowing me to make adjustments to data collection approach and tools depending on the outcomes of the meeting. Funding for the meeting was obtained (ESRC support grant). Although one PT was not able to participate due to prior commitments, she was invited to respond to a detailed agenda in advance, which she did.

4.4.1. Exploration of roles of participants and researcher

After an initial overview of my intentions (transparency) and needs (single-authorship of PhD research), PTs discussed their initial concerns and expectations with regard to a foreign researcher presence in their school, and also the likely impact of "reactivity" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007)—the observer effect—on both them and their learners. Plenary discussion revealed a range of concerns and potential problems, but also solutions, such as taking one or two early lessons to get used to the observer's presence, even including

"exploiting" me (their term) as a resource (e.g., for a student interviewing task) before I became a non-participant observer. Other challenges discussed included the high quantities of other languages used in lessons, particularly from two teachers who worked in Hindi-medium classrooms (this led to my increasing my self-study of this language in the interim), and how I would be introduced to and interact with other teachers in their institutions and local community.

4.4.2. The focus of the PhD study

PTs considered two questions. The first was whether the study should focus on them only or should also involve experienced non-participant teachers (NPTs) selected from their colleagues for comparison (i.e., a matched pairs study), with a third option to focus on them mainly but also to take opportunities to observe and interview willing colleagues as and when possible. There was rapid consensus on the third option from participants (also preferred by the absent PT). The second question asked which aspects of their teaching the study should focus on. Five options were presented, worded as follows:

1. Your cognition (i.e. your knowledge, beliefs and values)
2. Your practice only (i.e. planning and teaching)
3. Your practice and cognition (how your planning and teaching link to your beliefs, ideas, knowledge)
4. The lessons themselves (i.e. what happens in your lessons, comparing different things you do)
5. You as 'whole people' (an ethnographic focus; linking all the above to understand who you are, your background and why you do what you do)

Once more, albeit after longer discussion, there was consensus (including from the absent PT) on the fifth option, an ethnographic 'whole person' study. Issues of participant anonymity were also discussed (as per Walford, 2018); while most felt they wanted to be recognised for participating in the study, I suggested they wait until they had an opportunity to read and 'member-check' my findings before making any final decision (see 4.6.1.4).

4.4.3. The co-authored publication

Based on initial interest in this outcome expressed at the preliminary online meeting, I presented five potential options for discussion regarding a publication that the participants

would themselves co-author, along with three possible publishing options. The five options were:

1. An autobiographical book or e-book
2. An edited book, with each teacher authoring one chapter on an area of interest
3. A practical booklet with lesson plans and possibly videos
4. A self-study book
5. Other ideas

After extensive discussion, most participants expressed an interest in trying to publish open access through either British Council or a teacher association in order to reach the largest number of colleagues in India. Regarding the five options, there was some disagreement and extensive discussion that led to them agreeing on an amalgam of 1, 2, 3 and 5: Participants would contribute chapters to a book describing their context, challenges, and specific areas of their practice (as context-specific solutions to local challenges) that they wanted to highlight, but also potentially providing practical advice of some kind to (especially novice) teachers. This provisional plan was agreed upon. I informed them that I would also consult the absent PT on this, and that we could allow the idea to take shape further over the next year.

4.4.4. Participant group reflection without the researcher

At this point, I introduced several questions on the issue of research participant exploitation, as well as discussion of ethical safeguarding and peer support mechanisms. I also suggested they choose a group spokesperson who could report back any concerns to me anonymously at any stage in the project, then turned off recording devices and left them alone to discuss:

- Are we happy with how this meeting is going?
- Do we feel we are being exploited or involved?
- Does this project provide the opportunities for us that we had hoped for?
- Are there any other issues we need to raise?

On my return, a group spokesperson had been elected. Participants reported that they felt happy with how the meeting was progressing. A number of issues were discussed, particularly their wish that participants both receive copies of all data collected in their individual contexts (including video recordings of lessons) and have permission to use it for

their own use, which I confirmed, and also of their receiving certification of their participation in this meeting from my university, which was provisionally confirmed and provided later. Participants also warned me that there would be a likelihood of my being "exploited" by local authorities for teacher education and ceremonial purposes in some contexts. I confirmed that I was happy for this to happen, but only if they themselves were, and if local publicity was kept to a minimum.

4.4.5. Timetabling and practical issues

A number of practical issues were then discussed. The teachers themselves agreed upon when would be best for me to visit them individually, with 3–4 week 'windows' agreed for each visit. Issues of access and permissions (both at school and state levels) were also discussed and agreed upon. Several participants had also already expressed an interest in receiving "feedback" (their term) from me on their teaching, perceiving this to be of likely use. I agreed that this would be possible, but only after data collection was completed, and on condition that they kept such feedback to themselves. I also reminded them that they should not consider me an expert in their contexts, and pointed out that the case study descriptions, when produced and shared in due course would also provide detailed feedback of sorts.

The meeting concluded with confirmation of all that had been agreed. We also found time to socialise as a group, thereby building important bonds of trust and shared interests that have continued throughout the project.

4.5. Data collection

4.5.1. Theoretical background to case study data collection

The participatory element of this study presented a number of methodological challenges, particularly with regard to the focus for the individual case studies – this needed to be responsive to the preferences of the participants during the planning meeting while also allowing for cross-case analysis at a later date. As the pilot study was due to take place directly after the planning meeting, I decided to develop a large number of potential research tools in advance of the meeting that I would be able to adapt and select from depending on the outcomes of the meeting.

The approach for single case data collection broadly followed recommendations in the literature on qualitative case studies in education, particularly Stake (1995, 2006), and recommendations for ethnographic research in education, particularly Atkinson and Hammersley (2007), in line with participants' choice of an ethnographic focus. Consistent with Stake's observation that "the study of individual cases will often not be organised around the multicase research question" (2006, p. 9), I chose to prioritise the individual, whole person focus during data collection (i.e., understanding who they are, what they do, and why they do it), and to "work vigorously to understand each particular case" (Stake 2006, p. 1). However, I was also aware of the need to collect data in ways that would allow for subsequent cross-case analysis, potentially either following Stake (2006) or Bartlett and Vavrus (2017), whose critical realist approach (L. Bartlett, personal communication, February 28, 2018) was more suited to my paradigmatic position, and recommended a more complex, exploratory, mixed method design than Stake's broadly qualitative approach. I was interested not only in documenting practices, beliefs and personal stories, but also, potentially, in involving elements of a "process approach" (Maxwell, 2012a, p. 36; cf. Gerring's "process tracing", 2007) to explore causes and procedures of phenomena observed.

Thus, given these intentions, I perceived it prudent to draw upon a wide range of data collection tools, particularly participant observation (especially of lessons), participant interviews and ethnographic field notes, which would all provide data to inform the who, what and why questions. However, I also chose to conduct interviews with other stakeholders (learners, parents, headteachers) and to observe non-participant teachers whenever opportunity permitted to provide a wider understanding of the contexts in which PTs were working. This combination, I anticipated, would allow me to select, corroborate and triangulate sources during analysis, and reduce the likelihood that "data required to check a particular interpretation are missing" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 159).

4.5.2. The pilot study

The pilot study was conducted as planned after the planning meeting. Data collection tools were selected and adapted where required to suit the focus agreed upon in the planning meeting. It proceeded without significant difficulties, although several minor changes to data collection tools and procedures were deemed useful afterwards, including rewording of several interview items to make them clearer, the simplification of a pupil focus group task,

and the addition of several items to the two longer participant interviews (e.g., a question on personal influences was added to the espoused theories interview). As only minor changes were required, there was little difficulty including the pilot study data in the cross-case analysis – the slightly shorter duration (13 days) was the only significant difference.

4.5.3. Data collection activities and tools

Here I describe the specific data collection activities and tools, as used for all eight cases, all with appropriate permissions and informed consent as per ethical approval granted for the study. The chronological approach for how these tools were used in each case study is described in 4.5.4:

Field notes: "Meticulous" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007) and "copious" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017) notetaking was carried out to "combine a high level of careful empirical detail with personal asides and impressions" (Mills & Morton, 2013, p. 83). This included written notes during all PT lesson observations and interviews, and follow-up notes after informal discussions and observations of NPTs, when synchronous writing was not possible. I also took notes on other daily procedures (e.g., assembly, lunchbreaks), and also occasional reflective notes whenever thoughts of relevance arose, taking care to separate these "analytic notes" from the more descriptive ones (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 150). Research notebooks thus constituted both chronological records and diaries, spanning 60–100 pages of A4 notes per case.

PT lesson observations: I used a small GoPro™ video camera with a wide-angle lens mounted on a small desk tripod and a small clip-on audio recorder worn by PTs to record lessons (see Figure 7). Initial lessons were audio recorded only to reduce disruption; the video camera was introduced (explicitly to learners, who were naturally curious about it) after they had relaxed in my presence (usually after 3–4 observations in each class). For my accompanying written notes, in line with the ethnographic focus, I chose not to use a structured observation schedule, but to take what Dörnyei calls "narrative field notes" (2007, p. 179), describing procedure and activities chronologically, also including time stamps and noting anything that the camera or microphone may not collect (Emerson et al., 2011). I also noted key statistical details for each lesson, such as class details, student attendance, lesson start and finish time. Figure 13 (p. 122) provides an example extract from a lesson observation note. In addition to this, I took photos, usually using a mobile phone camera

(less obtrusive), always making this clear, but without disrupting lessons, and requesting permission from learners (afterwards) to use any photographs of notebooks or personal work. Lessons observed were always agreed upon in advance with PTs, typically constituting 70–90% of the lessons they taught, although several encouraged me to attend every lesson, and all gave me free reign to choose which lessons I attended.

Figure 7

Video recording set-up for PT lesson observations

Extensive PT interviews: Two longer (1–2 hours) semi-structured interviews were conducted with each PT to investigate aspects of background, identity and beliefs. The first 'life history' interview (LHI) was mainly biographical, including recollections of childhood, schooling, path into teaching, and prior teaching and teacher education experiences. This was usually conducted near the start of data collection. The second was an 'espoused theories' interview (ETI), investigating their beliefs about teaching and learning, their influences, challenges and personal support structures. It was conducted towards the end of data collection so that follow-up questions could be tailored to observed practices. I also requested feedback from PTs on my 'practice' as a researcher, particularly whether my data collection expectations had been excessive (only after the pilot study was this confirmed, and adjustments were made), but also whether they had any advice for me, which two did. In

both the LHI and ETI interviews I also invited them to reflect on their self-image and motivation, enabling me to compare responses to these reflective questions at different stages in our relationship; "temporal" triangulation (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 183). See Appendices E and F for interview schedules, and Appendix L for interview extract.

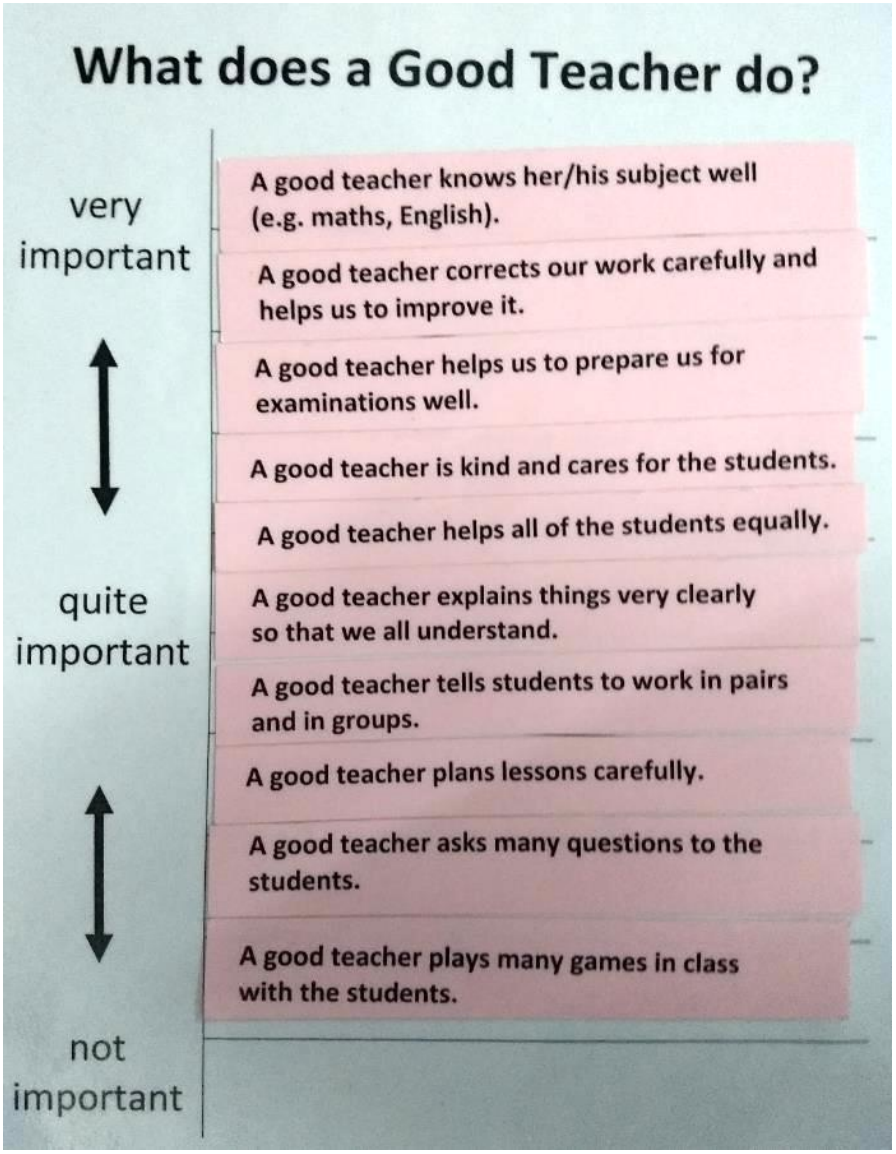
Post-lesson interviews: I initially planned to limit these to five per teacher, although several invited me to conduct more (up to eight). These were short (20–30 minute) semi-structured interviews, usually conducted immediately, or soon after specific lessons, enabling me to collect data on teachers' espoused intentions, reflections, and reasons for specific choices or decisions in lessons (thereby also providing insight into decision-making). They also included brief foci on individual learners, future lessons, and reflexivity issues, particularly "reactivity" (the observer effect) in order to understand its influence (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 16). See Appendix G for schedule.

Interviews with key stakeholders: I conducted focus group interviews with pupils' parents/caregivers (one per PT, see Appendix H), one-to-one interviews with headteachers (one per PT; Appendix J), and focus group interviews with pupils (2–5 per PT, depending on opportunity; Appendix I), primarily to provide contextual understanding of the backgrounds, beliefs and opinions of key stakeholders.[19] Where necessary, locally available and appropriate translators were engaged, particularly for parent focus group interviews (interview schedules were translated for this purpose). Pupil focus group interviews usually involved two activities. First, working in small "friendship groups" (Lewis, 1992), learners were asked to brainstorm and list the qualities and practices of effective teachers (of any subject); their lists were subsequently photographed. Where time allowed, pupils were also interviewed about what they had written. For the second activity pupils worked in the same groups to rank ten qualities of an effective teacher (photographed, see Figure 8), after which they were interviewed on their choices. Pupils were encouraged to use whatever languaging resources they required during interviews; my intermediate Hindi served as a means to clarify instructions and meanings in rank order statements and questions if required.

[19] Selection of participants for parent/caregiver focus groups was primarily opportunistic, inviting female parents only as agreed during the planning meeting (and female translators, where required); it was felt they were more likely to speak freely without men present, and, on balance, more aware of their offspring's developmental needs and progress. Selection of participants for learner focus groups was random, but only when they volunteered. I avoided asking teachers to select learners.

Figure 8

Example completed learner focus group rank order task



Non-participant teacher lesson observations (NPTOs): These happened only after either I had been invited by a non-participant teacher (NPT), or had built up sufficient rapport and explained about my research so that my request to observe their lesson would not cause undue stress. NPT observations were only occasionally video recorded when the teacher specifically requested this, and students had already given permission.[20] Otherwise, only written notes were taken and expanded upon immediately or soon afterwards. Whenever possible, I engaged NPTs in informal post-lesson discussions to ask about aims,

[20] For example, if the class in question was shared with a participant teacher.

reflections and specific practices to provide some data on their beliefs and cognition. Notes to such informal discussions were written up afterwards. For obvious reasons, I targeted teachers of English, although also accepted invitations to observe other lessons, which provided useful contextual data. Table 8 below includes data on NPT observations. On seven occasions, I was able to observe a NPT twice.

Collecting additional contextual data: This included photographs of the school premises, rooms, facilities, nearby homes and villages (taken with due sensitivity), also photographs of relevant documents such as registers, which provided useful information on student enrolment, attendance, background and (officially required) student caste, as well as documentation on exam performance of prior learners, teacher and staff profiles (both of these were often on public display in the headteacher's office). A small number of documents were also collected; while textbooks were generally available online, other documents such as progress tests, end of term and end of year exams, and other materials used in class were collected.

4.5.4. Data collection chronology for each case

Given that in many of the research locations, neither the teachers nor the students had met or interacted with a foreign national, I faced a number of challenges, relating particularly to reactivity (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007). It was necessary, initially, to make sure that I was not seen either as a 'guest', nor an 'inspector', and the ground work for this was prepared with the PT in each instance. Sometimes it took over a week for teachers and learners to relax in my presence. Given that I was in most locations for approximately three weeks, the visits tended to follow a similar chronology:

Week 1: On the first day of my visit, after seeking approval from the headteacher to conduct the study,[21] I would begin acclimatising students and teachers to my presence by "actively building rapport, in an attempt to minimise reactivity" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 210). Upon my request, this would usually involve an initial introduction during school assembly, when students and teachers would learn about my research and reasons for visiting the school. Initial visits to lessons of the PT would sometimes involve making use of me as a resource, so that learners could ask questions and get to know me (this included a

[21] This was always done in addition to higher level (e.g., state) approval, out of respect for the school management.

game in one instance, and an interview role play in another). We also asked students in the PTs' classes to inform their parents regarding data collection and obtain their permission; in some schools a pro forma was written on the board, which students copied into their notebooks for parents to sign. In others, spoken consent was deemed more appropriate (especially when parents were non-literate; see Krogstad et al., 2010). In smaller rural communities, the village leader (*sarpanch*) was also invited to school to discuss and approve the study; they served as a useful means to disseminate an accurate description of the study aims and procedure locally. Students were also given the personal option to not be filmed if preferred. During this week, I usually spent much of recess in the playground, so that all students could interact with me and satiate initial curiosity. I spent most free periods and lunchtime in the staff room, where I was able to interact with other teachers, chatting and building rapport in English or Hindi. Approximately 10–12 PT lesson observations were conducted in Week 1, and filming typically started towards the end of this week, once parental permission had been granted and the PT felt that learners had relaxed after the disruption of my arrival. This was also a good time to conduct the LHI, often at PTs' homes, providing an opportunity to meet family members and build rapport further.

Week 2: I focused mainly on data collection with the PT, typically involving 2–4 observations and one PLI per day. I was often able to see a stabilisation in the practice of those teachers for whom I had initially suspected reactivity during the first week, giving me a degree of confidence that, by the end of Week 2, I was seeing reasonably natural practice. Usually 20 PT observations had been conducted by this point. I would also continue to build rapport with NPTs, and this frequently led to invitations to visit their lessons. Whenever I requested this, I ensured that we were alone (to eliminate peer pressure), and made it clear that it was their choice. Often during the weekend between Weeks 2 and 3, I would conduct the ETI.

Week 3: Priority for the third week moved to conducting focus group interviews with students, parents and the headteacher interview. PT observations were also continued, often fitted around these other activities. I often began to notice a degree of 'saturation', insomuch as I was finding I could often predict lesson procedure, answers to PLI questions, etc. I was often able to move around the class to take photos without disruption, and occasionally record groupwork discussions using voice recorders. Usually one or two final PLIs provided opportunities for me to ask slightly more probing or critical questions if there were areas where I felt I still did not fully understand an area of a PT's practice. At the end of the third

week, after data collection was completed, we conducted a final "feedback" discussion, as requested by PTs during the planning meeting, feeling it would be of use to their development (see 4.4.5). This was an opportunity to chat informally about aspects of their practice. I provided extensive, specific praise, but also suggested experimenting with alternatives to current practices, particularly those I had seen done differently in other PTs' classes. I usually found that I also learnt from this discussion, often resolving outstanding puzzles, or learning that something I felt to be a belief-practice inconsistency was actually necessitated through contextual constraints. In several schools, despite my requests to avoid ceremony, a final *felicitation* ceremony was arranged on my last day, which teachers and students enjoyed.

At the end of every day during data collection, consistent with recommendations in the literature (e.g., Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007; Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017), I logged and labelled images and videos, re-read and typed up lesson and interview "synopses" from field notes, often also adding further recollections while these were fresh in my mind (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017), along with reflections and questions that still puzzled me.

In one school the headteacher requested that I did not conduct any NPT observations, citing concern over the disturbance to students (all female). In this case, a visit to a nearby school was arranged, where I was able to meet and observe comparable teachers. In all other participant schools I was able to conduct observations of NPTs, although I also accepted opportunities to visit other schools of interest nearby, including two private schools, and one large government-aided school.

4.5.5. Data collected

Excluding the shorter pilot study, data collection ranged from 20 to 25 days per case, usually over 3–4 weeks in total. While total time spent with each participant was comparatively short, it was within the scope of Stake's case study guidelines (1995), especially when additional contact opportunities (e.g., the planning meeting and preparatory interviews) are considered, although there was an inevitable "trade off" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007) between depth and breadth of focus. Table 8 summarises the total amount of data collected per participant teacher presented in order of the visits. In several of these locations I observed the start of the academic year (Vinay, Shekhar and Gajanan), in others I observed

early-mid academic year (Dipika, Nurjahan, Manjusha, Kuheli), and only for one I observed the latter phase of the academic year (Raju) (see 12.2 Limitations).

Table 8

Data collected: statistics

	Months	**Days spent at school**	**PT lessons observed**	**Participant teacher interviews**	**Interviews of other stakeholders**	**NPT observations (English teachers in brackets)**
1. Raju (pilot)	Feb 2019	13	21	7	7	3 (2)
2. Vinay	Jun 2019	21	32	10	6	5 (3)
3. Shekhar	Jul 2019	20	27	10	4	9 (7)
4. Gajanan	Jul–Aug 2019	21	38	10	6	7 (6)
5. Dipika	Aug–Sep 2019	25	34	9	7	4 (4)
6. Nurjahan	Nov–Dec 2019	21	32	7	5	4 (3)
7. Manjusha	Dec 2019–Jan 2020	20	30	7	4	4 (4)
8. Kuheli	Jan–Feb 2020	24	28	7	5	4 (4)
	Total	**165**	**242**	**67**	**44**	**40 (33)**

4.6. Data analysis

Data analysis involved two key stages: individual case analysis and cross-case analysis, as recommended by Stake (2006), although there was also significant overlap between these, with both starting during data collection. Analysis of the pilot study data was completed before data collection for the remaining seven cases began, and provided useful feedback to inform data collection for other cases.[22] However, the pilot also provided an initial point of comparison for future cases that accumulated during the study. Despite my appreciation of Stake's (2006) advice to focus on trying to understand each individual case as much as possible, my awareness of what I had observed in prior cases was always present in mind. Comparison began to work its way into field notes, which became "more focused in subject

[22] This involved, for example, writing up field notes at the end of the day while memories were still fresh.

matter" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 145), the frequency of my cross-case reflections increased, and tools for the purpose of comparison became useful, including the *reflective diary* and *comparative spreadsheet* discussed below. However, as a foil to this inclination to compare, I also developed a means for recording and preserving my *initial reflections* on each case immediately upon completion of data collection, while I still had a fresh understanding of what I had experienced. Table 9 summarises data analysis procedures, all discussed in detail below.

Table 9

Summary of data analysis procedures

	During data collection	**After data collection**
Individual case analysis	• Initial reflections • Reflective diary	• Detailed analysis: 1. transcription of lessons and interviews 2. initial comments and "loose" codes 3. more detailed comments and coding 4. writing detailed analysis 5. structuring the case descriptions • Respondent validation
Cross-case analysis	• Comparative spreadsheet • Reflective diary	• Analysis of commonalities • Analysis of difference • Discursive cross-case analysis

4.6.1. Individual case analysis

4.6.1.1. *Initial reflections*

At the end of data collection for each case, I devoted one or two days to writing up *initial reflections* on the case, constituting what Atkinson and Hammersley (2007, p. 150) call "preliminary analyses". These gradually became more systematic over the first three cases, and more detailed for the remaining ones. First I re-read my field notes, sometimes adding to the typed-up synopses for the lesson observations and interviews. I would also highlight practices, features or beliefs that seemed to be prominent or common (initial coding of sorts), re-watching video extracts or listening to sections of interviews to confirm this. Then I would write a 4–5,000 word document describing what I perceived to be the salient aspects

of each teacher's practices, beliefs and personal narrative, keeping the agreed upon 'whole person' focus in mind. As specific events and comments were fresh in my memory, I would often cite these as references (e.g., "Obs. 24") for the more detailed analysis that was to follow. The organisation and headings used in these initial reflections were participant-specific.

4.6.1.2. ***Reflective diary***

Although I had included some personal reflections in my field notes, I also began, after the third case, to keep a reflective diary where I was able to record more qualitative reflections, including informal cross-case analysis, largely consistent with Atkinson and Hammersley's "progressive focusing" (2007, p. 151). As well as the more obvious similarities and differences, which I recorded on the comparative spreadsheet (see 4.6.2.1), this diary allowed me to record more complex reflections, such as possible relationships between contextual constraints and practices (e.g., the influence of irregular lesson length on lesson structure and planning). I also used this diary to record feelings and personal concerns, as also recommended by Atkinson and Hammersley (2007), who, aside from discussing the cathartic role a diary can serve, also note its potential importance for "analytic significance" (p. 151). I continued to keep this diary until drafting of the thesis was completed.

4.6.1.3. ***Detailed analysis***

For the pilot study, detailed analysis took five weeks as I experimented with different procedures for transcribing, coding and organising the data. The remaining detailed analyses took approximately four weeks to conduct, and remained my primary focus for that period. The five stages of analysis were as follows:

1. Transcription: leaving aside the first 10 lessons observed (due to the potential impact of the observer effect), I selected and transcribed 8 to 10 of the remaining lessons, ensuring that this selection included a range of different classes and grades from throughout the observation period, and varied foci (e.g., reading, writing, grammar, etc.) that were representative of the total. I also ensured that the selected lessons included several of those after which I had been able to conduct a post-lesson interview. Thus, selection for transcription was representative, rather than random. Transcription included all teacher utterances (in any language), and all audible learner utterances, both those recorded through the teacher's microphone, and other audio recorders I occasionally deployed during groupwork activities to gain an insight into learner languaging practices and interaction

during groupwork. Where my knowledge of languages used was not sufficient for transcribing,[23] I made use of translation services (funded by an ESRC Support Grant). See Appendix K for example transcription extracts. The primary aim of transcription was to convey the content of utterances and related actions clearly to ensure both my own understanding and readability for non-specialist audiences (including the PTs). Thus, specialist transcription conventions were avoided as much as possible, and important non-verbal elements and paralinguistic features were noted in brackets (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007), an approach praised by several PTs during respondent validation:

> Those dialogues in the conversations are very clear to us, it makes it easy to understand what happened in the classroom, how my teaching is going on. (Vinay/RV/00:50)

The total number of lessons transcribed was usually informed by the degree to which I felt further transcriptions were revealing significant new insights into the teacher's practice (i.e., an issue of "saturation"; Dörnyei, 2007, p. 126). Interviews with the teacher were also transcribed, although focus group interviews with students, parents and headteacher were only summarised at this stage, given that these were perceived to be contextualising, rather than core data.

2. Initial comments and "loose" codes: Upon completing transcriptions, I read through and added review comments on aspects of the teacher's practice, cognition or personal narrative that seemed to be important, frequent, or unusual. This was analogous to what Miles et al. (2014) call "jottings": "the researcher's fleeting and emergent reflections and commentary on issues that emerge during fieldwork and especially data analysis" (p. 94). Reading through these comments allowed me to begin to develop a number of loose initial themes for potential coding. Example themes for Nurjahan were "negotiation", "peer-correction", "L1 use", "scaffolding", "humour", etc.

3. More detailed comments and coding: After this I re-read field notes and watched the lessons again, including the first ten (audio-only recordings of early lessons were listened to), always bearing in mind that these were likely to be more influenced by the observer effect. While reviewing these lessons, I also re-read and added detail and reflective comments to the lesson synopses, sometimes cross-referencing quotes of importance from

[23] I was able to transcribe Hindi, but not Bangla, Malvani, Marathi or Telugu, the other main languages involved.

interviews. “Loose” codes from the prior stage (e.g., “L1 use”) were revised and applied more consistently at this point, often involving more specific subcategories. For example, “L1-inclusive” was applied whenever a teacher was observed to allow or encourage the use of languages by learners other than English, and “LLL” was used to denote whenever teachers were observed to link aspects of learning to learners’ lives/experiences). Because these synopses were shorter than full transcriptions, they made it somewhat easier to identify perceived patterns, themes and topics of importance (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007). Nonetheless, when completed, each lesson synopsis document totalled over 12,000 words per PT, and these were searchable, enabling me to find codes easily, yet retaining sufficient context, reducing the danger of decontextualization that Atkinson and Hammersley (2007, p. 156) discuss. The coding of later cases was inevitably influenced by codes developed in earlier ones, although later cases also led to code revisions that were then applied during later drafts of earlier cases, leading to changes where necessary (see Appendix M).

4. From initial reflections to detailed analysis: At this point I returned to the initial reflections document I had completed immediately after data collection for each case and produced a second more detailed draft. At this point, as well as increasing the level of detail, I added references to specific lessons or interviews. For example, when discussing a salient feature of practice, I cited all lessons in which I had noticed it in brackets; this served as a useful indicator of frequency and also enabled me to find both lesson extracts and interview quotes to add to the detailed analysis whenever illustrations were warranted. The majority of key features described in initial reflections were retained in the detailed analysis. However, additional features were also added, particularly those that were more specific to the detailed interaction of the lesson itself. An example of this is Gajanan’s “dialogic teaching”, as I described it; examples from transcripts indicated that teacher–student interactions tended less to follow the initiation–response–feedback sequence (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975), and were more likely to be student initiated, or involve a larger number of more meaningful exchanges.

5. Structuring of the final case descriptions: Restructuring of the initial reflections would frequently occur as I transformed them into the first draft of the detailed analysis. For the early cases, this sometimes involved several attempts to organise the description. However, as I worked through the cases, certain categories seemed to appear repeatedly (e.g., “rapport and relationships”; “collaborative learning”; “use of L1”), suggesting the possibility of organising the write up of all cases similarly. By the time I had completed all

eight descriptions, several of these categories seemed to have stabilised in ways that enabled them to account satisfactorily for the practices of all eight teachers, principally through "a shift towards more abstract categories" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 153), the identification of which prompted me to reread and sometimes redraft earlier case descriptions. For example, what had initially been "use of L1" had stabilised in the last three analyses into "languaging practices", within which I had expanded the discussion to describe use of English, use of "L1", and also translingual practices, describing these for both teacher and pupils, thereby enabling me to discuss the variety of balance and blend of different languages in the classroom observed. Another example of this was the rejection of "classroom management" as a category. Instead, I found it useful to bring aspects of behaviour management closer to my discussion of a teacher's relationships with their students (these two elements often influenced each other), which led to the creation of the category "interpersonal practices" for these. Aspects of the management of the lesson event were discussed under the category "lesson delivery", which later became "pedagogic practices" and finally "classroom practice". This gradual restructuring led to my selecting the final stable categories that were used for the final, third draft write-up of the detailed analysis for each teacher (see Table 10). As such, it can be argued that these categories evolved iteratively during data analysis, and were different to what I would have anticipated at the outset of the study, arguably constituting an analytical finding. While on occasion this categorisation led to a certain, occasionally forced, standardisation, it would provide the opportunity to compare and contrast important aspects of each teacher's practices during the cross-case analysis. Despite this, I also wanted to retain a degree of uniqueness to each case, which I did through the "Key beliefs" and "Key features" headings near the start of each case description (two examples are provided in Table 10). These final detailed analyses became the "case descriptions" for the PTs, each totalling 14,000–21,000 words, depending mainly on the extent of the data analysed, but also partly on order (later descriptions were often longer).

Table 10

Structuring categories used for case descriptions

Headings for all case descriptions	**Subheadings for case 7: Manjusha**	**Subheadings for case 8: Kuheli**
1 Context	1.1 School context 1.2 Personal background	1.1 School context 1.2 Personal background
2 Key beliefs (subheadings as required)	2.1 Students have their own potential 2.2 Learner-centred constructivism 2.3 Learning within 'natural surroundings' 2.4 Literature and basic skills practice	2.1 Engaging learners in learning 2.2 Task-oriented communication 2.3 A balance between language learning and exam preparation
3 Key features (subheadings as required)	3.1 Basic skills practice (especially literacy) 3.2 A dynamic community 3.3 Meaningful communication in any language	3.1 High expectations 3.2 Managing feedback to facilitate learning 3.3 Varied differentiation strategies 3.4 Learner engagement
4 Interpersonal practice	4.1 Relationships 4.2 Behaviour management	4.1 Relationships 4.2 Behaviour management
5 Languaging practice	5.1 Teacher's languaging practice 5.2 Learners' languaging practice	5.1 Teacher's languaging practice 5.2 Learners' languaging practice
6. Curriculum coverage and planning	6.1 Curriculum coverage 6.2 Planning	6.1 Curriculum coverage 6.2 Planning
7. Classroom practice	7.1 Lesson structure 7.2 Negotiation & improvisation 7.3 Whole class teaching 7.4 Activities 7.5 Monitoring 7.6 Feedback 7.7 Project work 7.8 Other frequent activities 7.9 Occasional activities 7.10 Activities not observed	7.1 Lesson structure 7.2 Negotiation & improvisation 7.3 Whole class teaching 7.4 Activities 7.5 Monitoring 7.6 Feedback 7.7 Other frequent activities 7.8 Occasional and absent activities/practices
8. Subject knowledge and PCK	(none required)	(none required)
9. Reflection	(none required)	(none required)
10. Professionalism	(none required)	(none required)
11. Observer effect	(none required)	(none required)
12. Critical reflections and concerns	(none required)	(none required)

4.6.1.4. ***Respondent validation (member checking)***

As a final, important phase, I sent each completed case description to the PT to get their reflections and feedback on what I had written about them. I was aware that while such checks offer useful insights, respondents' "reactions cannot be taken as direct validation or refutation of the observer's inferences" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 183). Nonetheless, given the participatory approach I had adopted, their opinions on this product of our collaboration were important to me. Thus, I invited them to comment on any elements of the description, and informed them that I was available for video/phone meetings to discuss this further, thereby facilitating a dialogic process if required. Most provided written responses, although two opted for a (video/phone) conversation. Small changes were made based on their feedback, particularly when I had misunderstood facts (e.g., personal history details) or my comments were unclear to them as key readers. One participant requested additional description of an area they perceived as important (how instructions were given), which was subsequently added to the case description. Another disputed two minor critical findings; in both cases we agreed on a wording that was consistent with my data and their opinion of their practice. See 6.11.3, 7.11.3 and 8.11.3 for discussion of three validation responses.

A second stage of participant validation was also conducted: I felt it important to check that participants were also comfortable with how I had compared their practices, so I sent them near final drafts of the two comparative chapters (Chapters 9 and 10 below) to read and comment upon; this led to one correction of an overgeneralisation I had made for a PT.

Upon completion of this validation process, participants were consulted regarding whether they preferred to remain anonymous or to be identified by name. All chose to be identified, so, after ethical approval was received for this, revised consent forms were prepared and signed (see Appendix C).

4.6.2. Cross-case analysis

Cross-case analysis began during data collection, both informally through the reflective diary (see 4.6.1.2) and more systematically through the comparative spreadsheet (discussed below), although both of these remained fairly limited (to the level of impressions) and based largely on recollections. Thus, after completing the individual case analyses, to ensure my approach to cross-case analysis was systematic and informed, I took time to reread

important sources on this topic (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Miles et al., 2014; Stake, 2006; Yin, 2014) as well as several influential comparative case studies of teachers (e.g., Calderhead & Shorrock, 1997; Holm & Kajander, 2015; Tsui, 2003). Rather different approaches to cross-case analysis are recommended and adopted in these works, reflecting a wide range of aims and theoretical positions. I drew upon these critically, appropriate to the unique participatory design and focus of my study. The cross-case analysis used here is consistent with Bartlett and Vavrus's (2017) "horizontal case comparison", in which "homologous" cases are compared with attention to contextual as well as "historical and contemporary processes" (p. 53) in an attempt to better understand "how and why phenomena" (p. 7). Within this broad aim, I was guided partly by my research questions and partly by the themes, categories and participant concerns that arose during individual case analysis, always aware that the findings would also be influenced by my prior experience and areas of interest. As Braun and Clarke (2006) observe, "themes do not just 'emerge'", and as Atkinson and Hammersley (2007) note, "data are materials to think with" (p. 158). These latter stages of cross case analysis first involved analysis of commonalities among the cases and then differences, each time drawing upon data collection tools and analytical methods specific to the task in hand. The final stage involved a more discursive cross-case analysis to counter the potential danger of oversimplification caused by looking primarily for similarities or differences.

4.6.2.1. ***Comparative spreadsheet***

Approximately half way through data collection I found myself reflecting on several areas of what I perceived to be clear similarities among the teachers observed thus far (e.g., a clear commitment to keeping learners engaged). As a result, I created an initial spreadsheet to record and reference such similarities as well as differences on various aspects of practice or cognition, later called 'themes'. As the spreadsheet developed, my use of 'Y' (for present) and 'N' (absent) transformed into more specific scores from 0 (not observed), to 1 (occasionally observed), 2 (observed sometimes), and 3 (observed frequently or considered central to their practice). This list continued to grow organically during data collection and individual case analysis, and was reorganised on several occasions during the latter so that it corresponded broadly to the headings used in the final case descriptions. The themes were returned to frequently during different iterations of analysis to ensure that my scoring for each teacher was—as accurately as possible—a reflection of the perceived comparative frequency or importance of a theme. I also used the spreadsheet to compare basic statistical

data (e.g., average class size, lesson length, percentage of L1 use), and my perception of the contextual challenges that they faced. The full spreadsheet is included in Appendix P, and totals 118 themes.

While this comparative spreadsheet had evolved naturally, I later found that both Stake (2006, p. 49) and Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 177–178) recommend similar comparative spreadsheets and ratings for the purpose of cross-case analysis, the latter noting: "Now you have fewer, condensed data, grouped and standardized; you can begin to see what the data look like—how numerous, how shapely, how distinct" (p. 178).

4.6.2.2. ***Analysis of commonalities***

Upon completion of the individual case analyses, I began the more systematic cross-case analysis. As much as possible I wanted to avoid oversimplifying the narrative in each case as I began to compare them, something that Stake (2006) cautions against. He provides a number of useful tools for cross-case analysis, one of which (p. 45) involves initially creating a one-page summary of each case, which I did. As well as noting contextual factors, key beliefs and key practices, I also highlighted (under "Other findings") what I perceived to be important relationships between themes from the case descriptions that shed light onto the '*why*' underpinning different aspects of participant teachers' practice, arguably the most challenging element of the whole person focus agreed at the planning meeting. A relationship ("link") was noted if an influence (causality or reciprocity), or association (illustration/instance or sympatry) was identified, either in their classroom practice (e.g., a teacher's frequent "use of L1" [languaging theme] used to "scaffold learning" [pedagogic theme]), or their discussion of practice, including justifications, beliefs and reflections (e.g., a teacher's belief that "avoiding punishment" [belief theme] helps to "build learner confidence/self-esteem" [interpersonal theme]). I later also added a one-paragraph narrative description to the one-page summaries, to reduce the danger of losing sight of the holistic description of the teacher at this stage (see example, Appendix N).

In order to bring these case summaries together and incorporate the themes that I had identified in the comparative spreadsheet, I developed a *commonalities mindmap*, employing mind-mapping software (MindManager™) to create a "topic box" for each theme from the comparative spreadsheet, where I also noted teachers for whom this theme scored highly in the spreadsheet (as frequent or central to their practice). I then added the relationships I had identified in each case summary to this mindmap, enabling me to see which relationships

seemed to be important for several teachers, and which themes bore the largest number of relationships to other themes. While this produced a complex map, it enabled me to see both common themes and salient links between these for all PTs together (see Appendix O), allowing specific relationships to be extracted and checked, informing my subsequent discussion of commonalities among the teachers.

4.6.2.3. *Analysis of difference*

While the comparative spreadsheet, one-page case summaries and commonalities mindmap proved useful analytical tools to organise my discussion of similarities among PTs, my discussion of differences drew on my reflective diary as its initial starting point, for it was there that I had reflected in greater detail on differences noticed among PTs during data collection and single-case analysis. Foremost among these, and also evident in the comparative spreadsheet, were differences in what I called PTs' "conception of subject" and "degree of control", both of which seemed to vary clinally among PTs, with each relating to a number of more specific differences noted. Miles & Huberman's (1994, p. 91–92) suggestion of graphic "data displays" to organise and understand large data sets was made use of at this stage. I plotted the clinal variation approximately on a two-dimensional field, enabling me to map the "location" of the eight PTs relative to one another, and then added themes from the comparative spreadsheet where there were notable differences among PTs (see Figure 41 on p. 261). This mapping process enabled me to identify "clusters" of related themes shared between adjacent teachers on the field. Through reference to contextual (e.g., class size, degree of autonomy) and cognitive (e.g., beliefs, values) differences between the teachers, the graphic display offered useful insights into much of the variation identified, as per Hammersley's process of "analytic induction" (1989). In Chapter 10, I present all of these in detail.

4.6.2.4. *Discursive cross-case analysis*

In the third stage of cross-case analysis I aimed to search for "discrepant evidence" (Maxwell, 2012b, p. 126), by adopting an alternative means for comparison of cases to the analyses of commonalities and differences described above. It involved focusing on the structuring categories/domains that had emerged during data analysis (meso-level), rather than either the more specific themes of the prior cross-case analyses (micro-level) or the whole-person focus of the case descriptions themselves (macro-level), thereby potentially identifying any further connections or relationships of importance previously overlooked.

Focusing on one category/domain at a time (e.g., beliefs, languaging practice, planning, etc.), I re-read the relevant sections in individual case descriptions and checked other key sources (e.g., reflective diary observations, case summaries) for all eight teachers. Based on these, I wrote descriptions of my impressions for each of these categories, blending observations of both similarities and differences in a more discursive fashion. I then used these descriptions to evaluate prior assessments made in the comparative spreadsheet, commonalities mindmap and early drafts of chapters discussing similarities and differences for potential omissions, overgeneralisations and bias. This led to minor changes in a number of areas. One example was the addition of a row 'Interactive planning/reflection' to the comparative spreadsheet. Another was a revision to my discussion of teachers' interest in keeping learners engaged; while I had originally judged that all eight teachers attached high priority to this, my discursive analysis revealed that for two PTs this belief was present, but not central, leading to my hedging this finding somewhat. In general, however, this discursive cross-case analysis confirmed the majority of findings of the previous two stages, and provided further (often explanatory) links between commonalities and differences that often related to contextual factors. Nonetheless, I felt that this more discursive comparison provided a more appropriate starting point for presenting the cross-case findings than a draft chapter that I had entitled "Analysis of similarities", which was structured differently and overly one-dimensional. This was replaced with the current Chapter 9 "Cross-case analysis by domain", which focuses primarily, but not solely, on similarities, and was gradually strengthened during subsequent drafts through critical appraisal of, and selection from, earlier drafts and tools of cross-case analysis as appropriate. After some consideration, I chose to retain the "Analysis of difference" chapter from earlier drafts for its useful explanatory insights, although this was also modified somewhat (often becoming more nuanced) after the discursive analysis. The two chapters offer useful alternative interpretations of the data, consistent with the critical realist position adopted in this study.

4.7. Rigour and reflexivity

As a critical realist approach does not impose or presuppose a specific research design (it can incorporate both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis), any evaluation of rigour must derive from the adoption and use of the most appropriate methods and tools to achieve a particular aim or investigate a phenomenon (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Maxwell,

2012a). A critical realist perspective also sees both the descriptive data and the participants' emic perspectives as *real* (Maxwell, 2012a), thus the construct of 'validity' does not have to be rejected, as is necessary for stronger constructivist/interpretivist positions (e.g., Lincoln & Guba, 1985). However, critical realism "uses 'validity' to refer primarily to accounts, conclusions or inferences, not to data" (Maxwell, 2012a, p. 133), asserting that only the inferences derived from data can be considered valid, not the data itself (also noted by Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 177).

Table 11 shows ways in which I believe my study addresses Maxwell's (2012a) discussion of validity in critical realist qualitative research.[24] The study also, I believe, meets a number of the more commonly cited qualitative research recommendations for best practice (e.g., Tracy, 2010), many of which derive from Lincoln and Guba's work (1985, 1986), but are also considered valid for qualitative studies within a critical realist framework (Maxwell, 2012b, pp. 125–128): rich data and thick description, a search for discrepant evidence, respondent validation, long term involvement (albeit shorter per case than is typical for ethnographies), triangulation of data sources and comparison.

Table 11

Applying Maxwell's validity criteria (2012a) to the study

Maxwell 2012a	**In my study**
Descriptive validity: refers to the degree to which the study accurately records "acts"; "activities seen as physical and behavioural events, rather than in terms of the meanings that these have for the actor or others involved in the activity." (p. 135) "Descriptive validity can also pertain to numerically descriptive aspects of accounts… 'quasi-statistics'—simple counts of things to support claims that are implicitly quantitative." p. 137).	• Detailed, descriptive field notes during data collection. • Initial lesson and interview synopses primarily descriptive (reflective comments were separated). • Detailed accounts of classroom practice in final case descriptions. • Inclusion of counts of lessons/interviews in which specific phenomena were observed/noted in case descriptions to support claims made for frequencies of practices, events, beliefs or reflections. • Use of PT counts to support claims of commonalities and differences among practices that were deemed frequent or central in cross-case comparison.

[24] Maxwell (2012a, pp. 142-143) also discusses external generalisability (which this study potentially has) and evaluative validity, but notes that both are likely to be less important in qualitative research than the four types of validity addressed in the table.

Maxwell 2012a	In my study
Interpretive validity: "seeks to comprehend phenomena not on the basis of the researcher's perspective and categories, but from those of the participants in the situations studied, i.e., from an 'emic' rather than an 'etic' perspective" (p. 138).	• Inclusion of extensive, sometimes multiple PT quotes to enable the reader to assess participants' interpretations of phenomena independently of mine. • Respondent validation of my interpretations of their acts was sought, responded to and documented (see 4.6.1.4). • Participants' own, independently written accounts of their contexts, beliefs and practices are documented through their co-authored publication to offer *emic triangulation* of my interpretations.
Theoretical validity: "refers to an account's validity as a theory of some phenomenon", "as an explanation, as well as a description or interpretation, of the phenomenon". Includes both construct and internal validity (p. 140).	• A process approach was adopted during identification of commonalities in the cross-case comparison; relationships were identified in individual cases (causal, reciprocal, instantial) and brought together for comparison and discussion (see commonalities mindmap) alongside supporting evidence. • A theory of difference (Chapter 10) purports to explain key differences observed, particularly when contextual and cognitive variation are also considered.
Internal generalisability: "generalizability within the setting, group or institution studied to persons, events and settings that were not directly observed or interviewed … it is important to be aware of the extent to which the times and places actually observed may differ from those that were not observed, either because of sampling or because of the effect of the observation itself" (p. 142).	• An average of 30 observations and 8 interviews per PT allows me to make generalisations regarding each PT's wider practice – events that were not directly observed (with one proviso regarding the academic year; see 12.2. Limitations of the study). • Careful, regular discussion of the observer effect with PTs (see section 11 in case descriptions) brought this threat to internal generalisability into the open, revealing potential issues that could be cross-referenced with observed practices, allowing an evaluation of the impact of reactivity for each PT.

4.7.1. Two reflexive concerns

Despite these claims for sufficient rigour, I feel that there are two areas where I should voice concern regarding my ability to meet recommendations for quality in qualitative and critical realist literature, both reflexive. Firstly, my personal relationships to all eight participants has, through the research process, become closer than would normally be considered

professional for a researcher, due partly to the participatory nature of the study, and partly to the bonds of respect and shared concerns that developed as we worked together. All are now friends and this inevitably impacts on my attempt to report on their practice with a degree of objectivity (important from a critical realist perspective if not from a critical theory perspective; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). There are times, for example, where my choice of quotes and extracts displays what I perceive to be the best illustrative example rather than the most representative one, and times where I have perhaps underemphasised qualities that I perceive to be negative. Nonetheless, to attempt to provide transparency here, I included the twelfth section in the individual case descriptions: 'Critical reflections and concerns', which were also shared and discussed with participants during respondent validation.

Secondly, I remain cognisant of my sometimes imposing exogenous theoretical constructs on the data during analysis; I am satisfied that some of the constructs proposed and explored have clearly originated in participants' theories and practice (e.g., Vinay's "introspection" as a reflective process), that some materialised during data collection and analysis (e.g., "text interpretation") and that some have been borrowed from my earlier contextualisation research (e.g., the TEaL/TEaS distinction; Anderson, 2020c). However, other constructs adopted during analysis (e.g., "collaborative learning", "monitoring", "error correction") have inevitably been imported either from mainstream teaching or language teaching literatures, due to my perception that these constructs seemed to describe what I was seeing appropriately; it is possible that such processes could be described differently, or even left unnamed (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 163) note: "the process of analysis cannot but rely on the existing ideas of the ethnographer". As such, this study must always remain—and be read as—a comparative case study in two senses; comparative of the participant teachers themselves, and cross-culturally comparative to my *a priori* theories and beliefs regarding the act of teaching, which have originated in my prior experiences as a teacher educator.

4.8. Conclusion

This chapter has described the methodology used in this study, beginning with the aims and research questions. I also justified the participatory element and stated my paradigmatic position. I then discussed how my theory of expertise linked closely to the literature review, my aims and the research context. These shaped the recruitment criteria adopted, justified

with critical awareness of both the context and the shortcomings of prior expertise studies – the multiple criteria approach adopted is rigorous and original, building on Palmer et al.'s (2005) recommendations constructively. The participant recruitment process is documented in particular detail to provide evidence that this was as inclusive and reciprocal as possible. I have also documented in detail how the participant teachers were involved in the planning of the study and other outputs of our collaboration to demonstrate a reasonable degree of participant agency to validate my claim that this is a participatory case study, likely the first investigating teacher expertise. Data collection practices and tools are justified theoretically and documented transparently, evidencing a depth and breadth of data exceeding that required for a PhD study, yet necessary to enable the exploratory analytical processes undertaken. Individual case analysis involved several phases (transcription; loose coding; detailed coding; detailed analysis and structuring of case descriptions). This phase overlapped to some extent with both data collection and cross-case analysis. Three types of cross-case analysis were conducted to identify both similarities and differences among PTs, and also to search for discrepant evidence through discursive cross-case analysis. Finally, I have addressed issues of rigour, drawing primarily upon Maxwell's (2012a) discussion of validity in critical realist qualitative research, and voiced specific concerns with regard to my reflexivity as a researcher that I believe the reader should be aware of when reading and interpreting the findings that now follow.

Chapter 5. Introduction to the participants

This brief chapter begins the findings section of this thesis by introducing the eight participant teachers (PTs) and their teaching contexts. It provides useful background statistics and related discussion before introducing the three detailed case study chapters that follow, chosen as representative of the diversity among PTs to address my first research question:

1. What are the features of the pedagogic and professional practice, and related cognition and beliefs of eight expert teachers working in Indian state-sponsored secondary education?

5.1. Participant teachers

The eight participant teachers had 7–25 years' teaching experience at the time of data collection. All were highly qualified (BEd and MA) with 3–5 potential indicators and 1–2 likely indicators of expertise each (see 4.3.3). Their real names are used, consistent with their wishes (for which ethical approval was obtained), although all other names used (e.g., students, colleagues) are pseudonyms.

5.2. Teaching contexts

While there is a bias towards one curricular authority among PTs (Maharashtra State Board), in all other respects they constituted a balanced range of contexts and secondary school types within India's state-sponsored sector. Four PTs worked in rural contexts, two in small towns and two in large cities. Four taught in government schools and four in government-aided schools. Two taught in girls' schools and the rest were co-educational. While six taught in schools where the majority of learners were of designated disadvantaged groups, two taught a minority from such groups (Nurjahan and Kuheli). Kuheli's students were mainly from literate, middle class families of suburban Kolkata with motivated parents who had entered a state lottery to get their children into her school. This more privileged background should be kept in mind – her case serves as a useful "outlier", closer in many ways to the contexts and descriptions of teacher expertise from higher income contexts.

Table 12

Participant teachers' contexts

Teacher	Grades taught[1]	class size[2] (mean)	School size (ss.)	School type[3]	Genders taught	Curricular authority (board)	Context	SES of learners[4]
1. Raju (pilot)	6, 7, 8, 9, 10	9	very small (<100)	govt.	mixed	Telangana State	rural, small village	99% disad.
2. Vinay	7, 9, 10	32	small (c.300)	govt.	mixed	Telangana State	rural, small village	99% disad.
3. Shekhar	9, 10	43	large (c.1300)	govt.	mixed	Maharashtra State	rural, large village	99% disad.
4. Gajanan	8, 9, 10	23	small (c.400)	govt.-aided	mixed	Maharashtra State	rural, large village	78% disad.
5. Dipika	8, 9, 10	52	medium (c.850)	govt.-aided	mixed	Maharashtra State	urban, low-income	64% disad.
6. Nurjahan	(5), 8, 9, 10	43	large (c.1200)	govt.-aided	mixed	Maharashtra State	semi-urban, small town	35% disad.
7. Manjusha	8, 9, (11, 12)	23	large (c.1800)	govt.-aided	female only	Maharashtra State	semi-urban, small town	84% disad.
8. Kuheli	7, 8, 9, (11)	20	large (c.1200)	govt.	female only	West Bengal	urban, medium/ high-income	25% disad.

Notes. 1. Grades taught during the year of visit. Grades in brackets were outside the focus of the study. 2. Mean across all lessons observed. 3. "govt." = government. Both government and government-aided schools in India are free to students (see 2.1). 4. Socio-economic status: disad. = disadvantaged. Percentage provided is the proportion of students registered as "scheduled caste", "scheduled tribe" and "other backward class" in observed classes (three official designations recognised in the government "reservation" system, constituting c. 70% of the Indian population; Statista, 2019). Alternative indicators of disadvantage (e.g., Below Poverty Line), were available in only two schools visited.

5.3. Visits to participant teachers

Each PT's school was visited for 3–4 weeks (slightly less for the pilot study); see 4.5.5 for full details on data collected. The dates for each visit were agreed during the planning meeting. PTs unanimously agreed that I should avoid the pre-examination period, although some exam preparation work had begun during my visit to the pilot study school. Due to different academic year start times in different schools, several PTs (Vinay, Shekhar, Gajanan, Kuheli) were visited during the first few weeks of their academic year, enabling me to see aspects of learner training. The observation periods were deemed broadly comparable for all eight PTs.

5.4. Choice of participants for the three case descriptions

As discussed above (4.6.1), detailed case descriptions were complied for all eight PTs, totalling 14,000–21,000 words each. Due to space limitations, only three of these could be chosen for inclusion here (reduced to 8,000 words each). The three PTs chosen (Vinay, Dipika and Nurjahan) were selected to represent a diversity of teaching contexts (rural, semi-urban and urban) and learner backgrounds (see Table 12, above). They also represent a wide range of experience within the cohort and were found to have a correspondingly wide range of pedagogic practices and beliefs indicative of the range observed among PTs (see Chapter 10).

As such, the three case descriptions provide diverse, fully contextualised "portraits" of teacher expertise in secondary Indian contexts. They present holistic accounts, consistent with our agreed aim for the studies to be "whole person" mini-ethnographies, yet are organised using the same headings (sub-headings sometimes varied; see 4.6.1.3) to enable the reader to compare the three teachers independently of my subsequent cross-case analysis (offering transparency; Tracy, 2010). They also enable the reader to gain a detailed understanding of the constraints, challenges and opportunities that both influenced and evolved alongside each teacher's practice. They are presented in order of my visits to their schools.

Chapter 9 (Cross-case analysis by domain) follows these case descriptions and is based on analysis of all eight teachers. The vast majority of lesson extracts and interview quotes provided come from the case descriptions of the remaining five PTs to further ensure that a

"rich complexity of abundance" (Tracy, 2010, p. 841) is offered to the reader. This is followed by a more theoretical "Analysis of difference" chapter, structured through comparison of two key variables among the eight PTs.

5.5. Participants' own accounts of their practice

In addition to my 'observer' accounts of who the PTs are and what they do, each has written a chapter for a shared publication (Gode et al., 2021), as one of the participatory outcomes of the project. These serve as both an alternative account to mine (a counternarrative of sorts, as well as a point of potential triangulation for the findings below), offering an emic account of each PT's context, beliefs and practices along with advice for colleagues working in comparable contexts; this structure was agreed upon by the PTs. After peer-reviewing each other's contributions, they submitted their chapters for publication by the AINET teacher association. The publication is available here:
https://theainet.net/connecting_eight_effective_ELT_classrooms.pdf

Chapter 6. Case description 1: Vinay

6.1. Context

6.1.1. School context

Vinay works in a medium-sized, rural, government secondary school located between three villages (317 enrolled students) in Telangana. Almost all learners are from farming families, 99% socially disadvantaged according to school documentation (31% SC/ST, 68% OBC). The school has a good local reputation, with 95% SSC exam pass rates (national average 79%; MHRD, 2018).

Female learners had, on average, outperformed male learners in recent years; of 37 students who scored above 9.0 in the 2019 SSC exams, only 5 were male. Lower levels of motivation and higher levels of absenteeism were noted among the boys in grades 9 and 10, who presented "a big challenge" (ETI/23:30) for behaviour management in class. During a focus group interview, several of the students' mothers also indicated that they had difficulty controlling their sons, perceiving that it was the school's responsibility to ensure that they attended.

The school itself is largely typical for a rural school in Telangana. There is intermittent electricity and the lone IT room has two functioning PCs and one data projector. The library and laboratories were not witnessed being used, both apparently in disrepair (see Figure 9).

The school follows the Telangana State Curriculum with one English-medium and one Telugu-medium class at each grade, the former with more learners. Most classes are full of forward-facing, fixed benches and desks, and there are few, if any, resources on the walls, except for painted mottos and slogans.

When I visited, at the start of the academic year (June 2019), Vinay's class sizes were averaging 32 students. Daily temperatures were regularly exceeding 40^{o}C, and while some classes had functioning, albeit noisy fans, power cuts were frequent. As a result, teachers regularly elected to take classes under trees, particularly in the afternoon. By mid-afternoon, learners were often chaperoned into larger groups under the trees, where they could be watched over by teachers while marking student work (see Figure 10).

Figure 9

School library being used as a textbook store

Figure 10

Classes would sometimes be merged and taken under the trees in the heat of the late afternoon

6.1.2. Personal background

Vinay, like almost all the teachers in his school, lives in a large town, the district capital, approximately 45 minutes drive from the school. He is Hindu, married with two children, both in further/higher education, and his wife is also a teacher. They live comfortably in a modern flat on their combined teacher salaries, with a car, and provide lifts to the school for other teachers.

Despite coming from a relatively low social class, Vinay enjoyed quite a privileged upbringing. His father was a doctor and wanted Vinay to follow in his footsteps. Despite attending a good residential school (one of very few government schools that were English medium at that time), he failed to pass his medical and chemistry exams, selecting teacher education (BEd) as a third, fall-back choice, preferring science teaching to English:

> I never thought I will become an English language teacher. Basically I have a science background, and after joining BEd, I have chosen science as my methodology … but there are rumours in the society that the government is going to create a special teacher post for teaching English, so to predict the future we have chosen English. (LHIa/16:10)[25]

Although he reports doing well during his BEd (one of only three who received first class honours; LHIa/24:20), his teacher identity seems to have evolved gradually. He described his initial teaching (at primary level) as quite traditional, strongly influenced by his BEd. However, his proficiency in English and interest in CPD led to rapid promotion, and opportunities to work as a teacher trainer on several projects seem to have been pivotal to his early identify formation:

> I started enjoying the teaching profession when I became a teacher trainer … My perception of teaching has changed … After that I started learning and started experimenting, even learning the use of technology and all of the things have started just because of the teacher training sessions. (LHIa/40:50)

He completed his MA in English, soon followed by "promotion" to a secondary English teacher post in 2000. His enthusiasm for his roles as both English teacher and teacher educator increased steadily after this, with numerous training opportunities, online

[25] See pp. 16–18 for data extract referencing system and transcription conventions used for interview and lesson extracts.

courses, and a prestigious Fulbright Scholarship to the USA. There was evidence that a number of these training opportunities were transformative:

> …my perception of language teaching has entirely changed after attending [RIE Bangalore]. So I started loving pedagogy instead of content and even throughout the ninety-day programme, I used to participate actively in all the classroom activities, going in for presentations, participating in group discussions and everything. (LHIa/50:05)

Despite seeking out these training opportunities, he described numerous difficulties when he attempted to introduce change into his classroom, due to varied challenges, particularly with infrastructure, technology and more traditional mindsets of colleagues:

> …the biggest challenges that [we] face … are particularly infrastructure, space, classroom arrangements, and technology use … so it's difficult for the Indian classrooms to ask them to sit in groups. (ETI/17:00)

> Now I became a friendly teacher, so there is a lot of noise in my classroom. Even the teachers they are complaining: 'He is not controlling the classroom.' (LHIa/1:23:30)

Yet, in all these areas of challenge Vinay has persevered to develop his own, distinctive approach. Today, as a combined result of his learners' success in exams and public speaking competitions, and his professional achievements, he is recognised as a leading teacher educator in the state, and given considerable autonomy in the school, where he had been for four years when I visited.

6.2. Key beliefs

6.2.1. Meaningful skills practice

Vinay's teaching was underpinned by a belief that language learning is fundamentally different to other types of learning. He saw it as a primarily cognitive process facilitated by meaningful skills practice and understanding. This contrasted notably with perceptions of colleagues who taught English mainly as subject (literature), with an emphasis on content learning through memorisation:

> JA: Is language learning different from other types of learning?

> Sure, definitely … while teaching language we focus on making them listen and understand, read and understand, speak and write, so the content of that lesson is not important. (ETI/1:35)

6.2.2. A process approach to language teaching

This belief in skills practice and understanding linked to his primary methodological belief in what might be called a *process approach*, involving input, primarily through reading, and output through both writing and speaking presentations:

> My philosophy of learning is that if students are engaged in the process, so they will do things on their own, then only they will learn. Instead of listening to the things, they have to do something, they have to participate, they have to prepare, they have to present, they come onto the dais and they have to talk… (ETI/00:49)

> My focus is on the process, not on the product. (PLI1/06:50)

This approach came through in his teaching in a number of ways, particularly in his focus on writing without concern for errors (see extract 1 below), his use of timed silent reading practice, and detailed groupwork text comprehension tasks.

6.2.3. Rephrasing/processing tasks

At all three grades observed (7, 9 and 10), activities were dominated by a phenomenon that Vinay calls “rephrasing” or “(information) processing tasks” (PLI0, PLI3, PLI6, ETI), text mediation activities (see Council of Europe, 2020), in which learners are exposed to one type or genre of text (usually written), and are required to transform it into another type:

> We have to give them an input first, so then we have to provide an opportunity for them to process it, then we should expect something to happen at the end of that, that is the outcome. So these are the three things that are involved. (PLI6/05:10)

> Most of my activities make them receive information, process it and reproduce it, so this is how the child learns better. (ETI/2:40)

6.3. Key features of Vinay's practice

6.3.1. Project-based learning

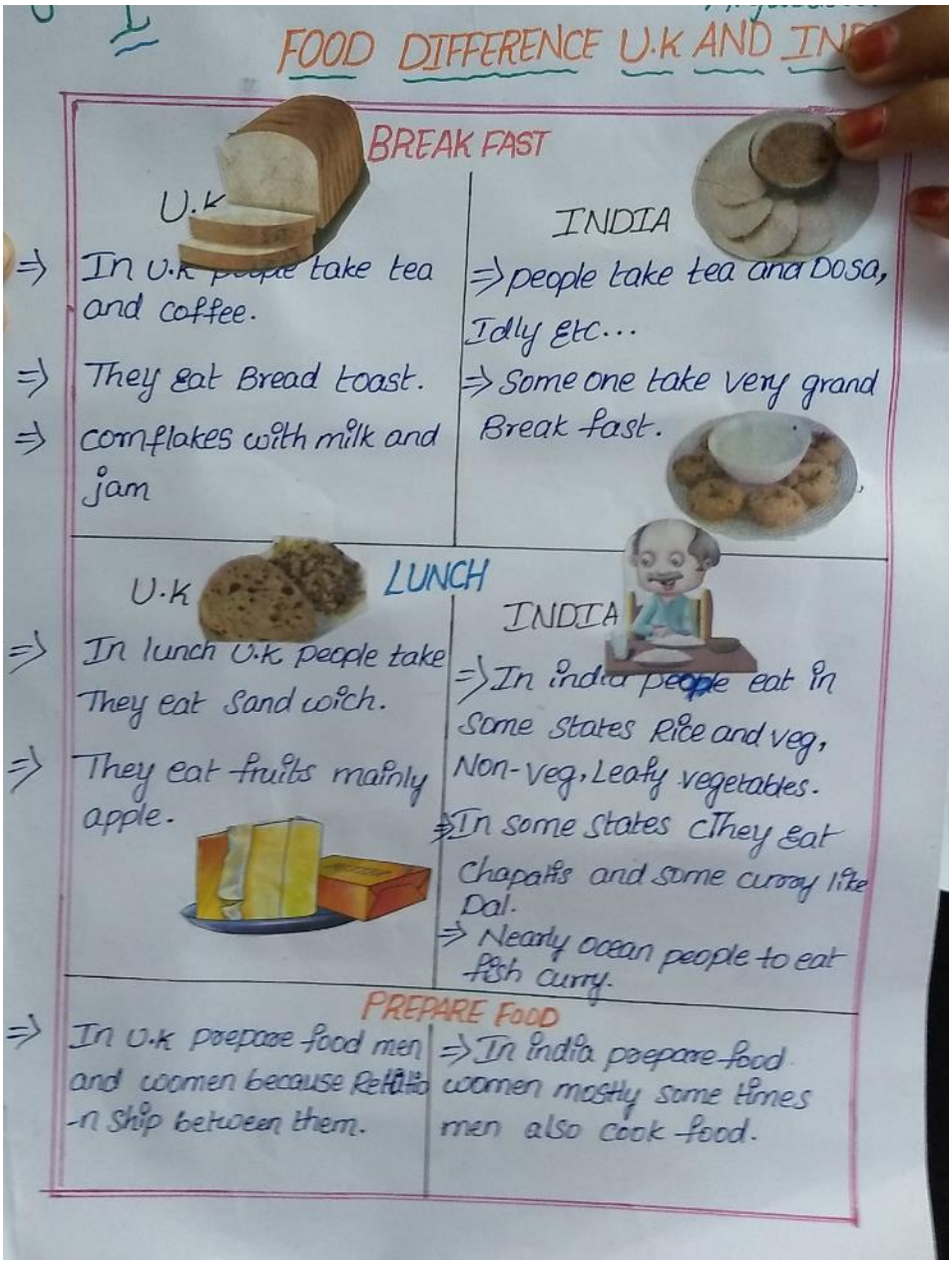
After Vinay had set up project groups for the year, project-based lessons constituted approximately half of the total lessons I observed. Project groups were fixed, with random student allocation of 5–6 members each, although, due to absenteeism, most had 3–5 members on a daily basis. As this was the start of the academic year, he conducted a number of learner training activities, in which he began to develop the necessary skills for learners who were used to much more transmissive instruction to work autonomously (Obs. 3, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, 20, 24, 26, 28):

> When I teach a particular class for the first time, I struggle a lot to bring them onto my track. It takes maybe fifteen days, sometimes one month, sometimes more than that also. But after that they will start enjoying my teaching. (ETI/32:30)

Projects would most often involve processing tasks, using a number of sources for input materials: textbook texts, audiovisual lessons and local English language newspapers that he brought to school. He viewed me, an English-speaking visitor, as a resource for a processing task, getting one of his classes to interview me in groups and prepare "slides" (handwritten pages replicating PowerPoint slides; see Figure 11) on differences between aspects of UK and Indian culture (each group had a different topic focus) for subsequent presentation to peers. Other projects included writing a biographic sketch of a person from a textbook article (Obs. 10, 13), writing speeches or letters based on announcements in local English-language newspapers (Obs. 26, 30), and, more creatively, imagining and writing a dialogue between a snake and a person based on a textbook short story (Obs. 12, 15). The output texts of these processing tasks were consistent with the genre types (e.g., reports, biographies, stories and written "conversations") that students were expected to produce as part of the continuous assessment tasks of the Telangana State Curriculum, known locally among teachers as "the discourses".

Figure 11

Students' handwritten 'slides' for presentations (Grade 9)



6.3.2. Continuous cycles of learning

Each project would typically last one formative assessment cycle, of which there are four during the academic year. Once groups had been set up, project lessons would start with a quick reminder of key deadlines and recommendations for how to proceed, after which learners would get into their groups and start work, some preferring to sit on the floor than to use desks (see Figure 12). While each learner had to complete the required elements for

themselves, they would collaborate through discussion, peer-teaching (e.g., providing an answer, spelling a word) and sometimes copying. “Talk to your friend” was a commonly heard refrain in his lessons (e.g., Obs. 20/09:40, Obs. 20/12:50). For the majority of such lessons, Vinay engaged in active monitoring, primarily providing task guidance and tuition support to groups and individuals as he went round the class.

Figure 12

Grade 7 students often preferred to sit on the floor for project work (Obs. 24)

Due to the considerable differences in motivation, willingness to do homework and ability, different groups were observed to progress through the work at different rates. Responsive to this, Vinay provided differentiated tasks (both extension and enrichment tasks) to challenge the more studious learners, particularly the more motivated girls in the grade 10 class:

> If you ask the girls to sit until [the boys] finish … it’s a wasting of their time. So to avoid that I have assigned another task to the girls, so the girls are doing something different than the boys are doing, it’s differentiated instruction. (PLI2/07:50)

On occasion, he even discussed different aims for the female and male learners in this class during post-lesson interviews (see 6.9). While monitoring, Vinay encouraged learners

to work without fear of mistakes, consistent with his belief that making mistakes "is part of the learning process" (ETI/03:30):

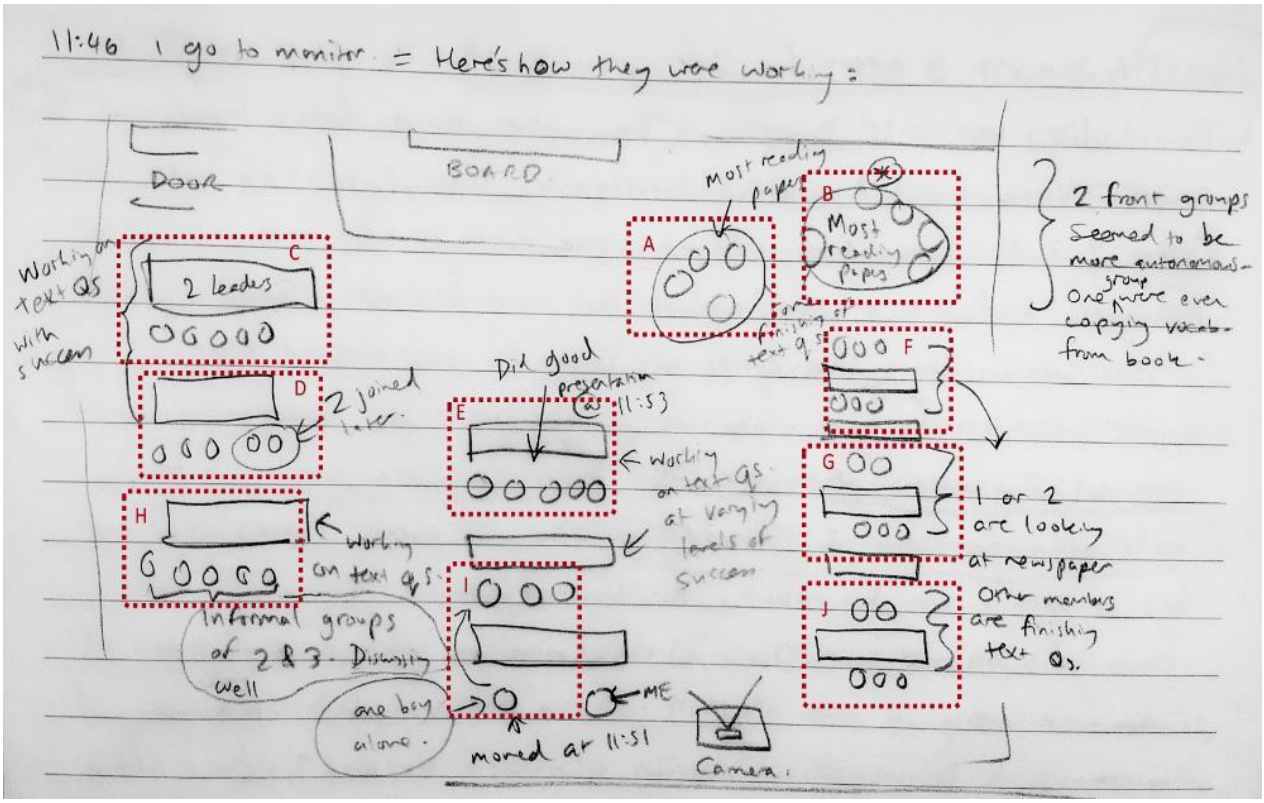
EXTRACT 1: Vinay/Obs.21/22:10

T: Don't worry whether it is right or wrong. Refer to text, if you think that it is relevant, you can write, because you are writing with the pencil, ah? Afterwards, you can rub it again and you can rewrite.[26]

As groups completed tasks, he encouraged them to give brief presentations on which he offered feedback (see below). Figures 13 and 14 provide an example "snapshot" of differentiated project progress at one particular moment in a lesson (Obs. 16/17:00), taken from my field notes, documenting the groupings of 49 learners in a grade 10 class.

Figure 13

Field notes extract (Obs. 16, Gr. 10) depicting activities of different groups during a project-based lesson



Note. Dotted lines and printed letters indicate groups, added later.

[26] T = teacher. See pp. 16–18 for transcription conventions used.

Figure 14

Screenshot from camera at same time as Figure 13 was drawn (Obs. 16, Gr. 10)

On one occasion, differences between girl and boy groups were so great that he split his grade 10 class between two rooms, with girls presenting on their project work to each other in the computer room while boys continued work on their projects in the main classroom; Vinay moved between the two groups to monitor progress and provide feedback (Obs. 30). At the end of such project work lessons, he would summarise outstanding tasks, check students understood what to do and give them related homework (often to write up work completed in class).

6.3.3. Developing independent reading skills

Only about half of Vinay's lessons were project-based. Curriculum coverage requirements meant that he also had to ensure learners understood the long, challenging texts found in Indian secondary textbooks. Unlike most teachers, who would explain these texts translingually to their learners (text interpretation, see 2.3.3), Vinay would begin by getting learners to read such texts quickly, silently and individually, often timing them, and—especially at higher grades—discouraging finger tracing and lip movement (e.g., Obs. 3, 14, 21, 24, 25, 32):

EXTRACT 2: Vinay/Obs.21/04:50
T: OK, so read the lesson and I'm going to keep the time. Sit straight. Don't murmur, not to move your lips. Don't run your finger or the pencil. Ready? Sit straight. Start!

After this, he would usually get learners to work on text comprehension tasks (usually provided in the textbook), sometimes individually, but more often in pairs or groups, and provide differentiated support as he monitored this work (e.g., Obs. 6, 7, 20, 24).

6.3.4. Use of EdTech

Vinay has a strong belief in the use of technology in the classroom (henceforth EdTech), both as a tool for learning, and an additional skillset of importance to his learners' future careers (ETI/46:00). Despite the computer room at the school having only two functioning PCs, one was a combined PC, data projector and speaker that he made use of regularly. His use of EdTech included:

1. using the supplementary audio-visual (AV) material to the textbooks to help with text understanding, or for specific presentations (Obs. 5, 17, 23, 25, 28);
2. using the document reader to project texts or "slides" for presentations (Obs. 29, 30);
3. playing videos of traditional stories with subtitles in English (Obs. 1).

He talked about this approach as a "one-computer classroom" (ETI), stating that it can be very effective, but cautioning that, despite its potential, "technology assists the teacher in teaching. It is not to replace him." (ETI/46:10). His computer literacy and experience of using EdTech were both evident. He often set it up in advance while learners were busy working on tasks (Obs. 5, 17, 23, 25), and he was able to overcome technical difficulties efficiently (e.g., Obs. 29). He also made use of EdTech in his teacher education work (I observed him delivering two workshops), and he tried to encourage his colleagues to use the projector, although he noted that their enthusiasm usually petered out after a few attempts.

6.4. Interpersonal practice

6.4.1. Relationships

Respect was central to Vinay's relationship to his learners, particularly for the less motivated adolescent male students in his grade 10 class: "Because I respect them, I treat them as a human being first. I never insult them." (ETI/40:30). Given the noticeable differences in ability and progress between these boys and their female classmates, he also aimed to build

confidence among them (PLI2/02:00). While he was attendant to their needs, and also those of the higher ability learners, on more than one occasion (e.g., PLI6, ETI), he expressed a concern that he was often neglecting "the middle group":

> So that's the big challenge I'm facing … because I only remember the names of those who perform well, and I remember the names of those who did not do well, so the middle group is missing, and they are feeling that I am not taking care of them. It is not the case, but it's my weakness. (ETI/34:50)

A key strategy for confidence building was the provision of regular positive reinforcement (Obs. 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 24, 26, 27, 28, 32), including peer-praise through rounds of applause after presentations or specific achievements:

EXTRACT 3: Vinay/Obs.11/25:35
T: (after leading a round of applause for the learners) OK, this activity has shown everyone can read in the class.

He provided more positive reinforcement and less correction to less able groups during presentations (Obs. 1, 7, 10, 12, 30, 31, PLI0, PLI2), encouraging them to listen to, and learn from the more able groups, who often finished first (ETI/10:47).

His learners at all grades seemed relaxed in his presence, particularly when compared to all but one of four other teachers observed in the same school (NPTOs 4–9). They regularly asked questions, called for his assistance, and engaged in informal chat with him while he was monitoring groupwork (Obs. 6, 9, 10, 15, 18, 20, 24, 27, 29).

A clear focus on developing learner autonomy was also noted, not only through his use of group project work, independent reading practice and his choice of homework tasks but also through his use of EdTech:

> …it can make the SS autonomous, sometimes, the technology, internet also. So they video the projects, and I provide them with one computer, so they search information, they pick the information, they prepare their own presentations, so the technology also helps. (ETI/48:20)

6.4.2. Behaviour management

As a result of the respect he showed and the positive reinforcement he provided, behaviour management challenges were rare. The most common difficulty he had was getting silence in

his Grade 10 class at the start of lessons (e.g., Obs. 16/04:00) or before presentations (e.g., Obs. 21/21:30); usually he would clap his hands, or tap on a desk and patiently call out "Silence!" several times. He faced more challenges with getting the less motivated boys in his grade 10 class to stay on task during project work, when they were expected to work independently. At the end of one such class, after having worked hard to keep them focused, he addressed them separately in his overview for the next lesson:

EXTRACT 4: Vinay/Obs.26/35:00	
T: And the boys, your task is at least identify the news items. Think of possible discourses, write at least one discourse, OK, not four. One discourse. *Malla* class *ki vachi rayodhu. Intikadane okati rasukoni ravale. Andaru. Okka* group *nunchi okaru.* Let us think of poster, easy *ga vunndi cheyandi. Kasthga vunnadi itey.* Take something easy. Profile it is easy, poster it is easy, writing letter is also easy, so try those things first.[27]	T: And the boys, your task is at least identify the news items. Think of possible discourses, write at least one discourse, OK, not four. One discourse. *Do not bring the task to* class. *You should write at home only. One should be identified from each* group. Let us think of poster. *Do what is* easy, *slightly so.* Take something easy. Profile it is easy, poster it is easy, writing letter is also easy, so try those things first.

6.5. Languaging practice

6.5.1. Teacher's languaging practice

Vinay spoke mainly English in class (m = 88% of total resources), although his use of Telugu (the L1 of almost all his learners) varied by over 20% between lessons, increasing noticeably in a more challenging text-based lesson in his lowest grade 7 class (Obs. 20: 30% Telugu). He used English as the main language for both classroom management (e.g., instructions, directions, praise, warnings) and for meaningful input (e.g., explaining a video, asking questions to check understanding, giving feedback to learners on their work). While he believed in using natural English, and did not consciously simplify it, apparent

[27] Extracts where significant amounts of languages other than English are used are transcribed in two columns, with original utterances on the left (using Romanised script) and English on the right. In both columns, italics are used to indicate words uttered in languages other than English. See pp. 16–18.

simplification was noticed alongside Telugu at times in the grade 7 class (e.g., Obs. 17, 20, 24), who were still acclimatising to his English-mainly approach:

EXTRACT 5: Vinay/Obs.24/14:30	
T: (talking to one group while monitoring) So here town mouse is also not comfortable in the country. *Enduku?* Why? *Malli chaduvu* question.	T: (talking to one group while monitoring) So here town mouse is also not comfortable in the country. *Why?* Why? *Read the* question *once again.*

His most typical uses for Telugu included reinforcing more complex instructions or guidelines for project work (PLI4/07:00), often repeating in Telugu something just stated in English (Obs. 17, 20), but also for advice, particularly while monitoring groupwork (Obs. 6, 8, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24). He also used Telugu when giving more technical input of content (e.g., discourse structures, grammar rules) and for pastoral reasons (PLI4/09:30). While he also translanguaged (particularly while monitoring; see extracts above and below), this was less common than among other participant teachers; his 'L1' use was most often an act of equivalence – translating the English (instructions or advice) in case some learners hadn't understood:

> Generally when I feel that some instructions they don't understand in English then I switch onto Telugu so that they can do well and understand. (PLI4/08:10)

His boardwork was almost completely in English, with only occasional Telugu translations of lexical items.

6.5.2. Learners' languaging practice

Vinay's teaching was 'L1-inclusive'. He actively encouraged his learners to use Telugu when required (Obs. 1, 11, 18, 20), even occasionally during presentations, the only activity type for which English was the expected language of spoken communication. He prioritised meaningful communication over language choice for his learners, consistent with his focus on process rather than product, and, importantly, engagement as key to learning:

> So language is the barrier for them. To overcome that, I encourage them to use Telugu … Simply sitting in the classroom won't help anything. At least if they think, they start involving in the process, whether in English or Telugu, so no problem at all. (PLI4/06:30)

As such, he responded to learner questions naturally while monitoring seatwork, leading to more translingual interactions:

EXTRACT 6: Vinay/Obs.20/10:10	
S1: (inaudible question)	S1: (inaudible question)
T: *Haa*? Question *haa?*	T: *Yes*? Your question, *yes*?
S1: Mice *ante?*	S1: *What is* mice?
T: Mice *ante* mouse. Singular *annatu okkatunte* mouse. *Rendunte* mice.	T: Mice *means* mouse. *In* singular *it is* mouse. *If there are two,* mice.
S1: (inaudible question)	S1: (inaudible question)
T: *Haa?* What would happen if the person who opened the cupboard found any of the mice?	T: *Yes*? What would happen if the person who opened the cupboard found any of the mice?
S2: Sir describe *ante?*	S2: Sir, *what's* describe?
T: *Haa?*	T: *Yes*?
S2: Describe?	S2: Describe?
T: Describe *ante vivarinchatam. Chaduvu* question *motham.*	T: Describe *means explain in detail. First read the* question *completely.*
S2: "Describe the town mouse ex" (has difficulty reading)	S2: "Describe the town mouse ex" (has difficulty reading)
T: (helping) "town mouse's experience in the countryside." Countryside *ki vachinaka* town mouse *yokka* experiences *rayali. Haa?* Describe *ante cheppali vivarinchali etla emaindi ani. Patam lo vuntayi chadavandi* find out.	T: (helping) "town mouse's experience in the countryside." *Write down the* town mouse*'s* experiences *when it came to the* countryside. *Yes*? Describe *means explaining how it happened. Everything in the lesson read it and* find out.
S3: Sir, *cheptara*?	S3: Sir, can you explain this?
T: *Haa, ee* question? Fifth question...	T: *Yes, which* question? Fifth question...

He also recognised the role of Telugu as a scaffolding tool to enable learners to think first, and then "convert" these ideas to English:

> I encouraged them to "share your ideas" in Telugu so that the person who is writing the questions, they can convert that into English. So at least they will put their ideas in, they are participating in the group. (PLI4/05:45)

During groupwork he encouraged learners to use whatever languaging resources they preferred (Obs. 11, 20, 31). His learners' use of the two languages during groupwork was sometimes translingual, involving peer-tuition and use of Telugu to scaffold English learning (as he suggests above). Notice the meaningful use of English resources ("place", "back",

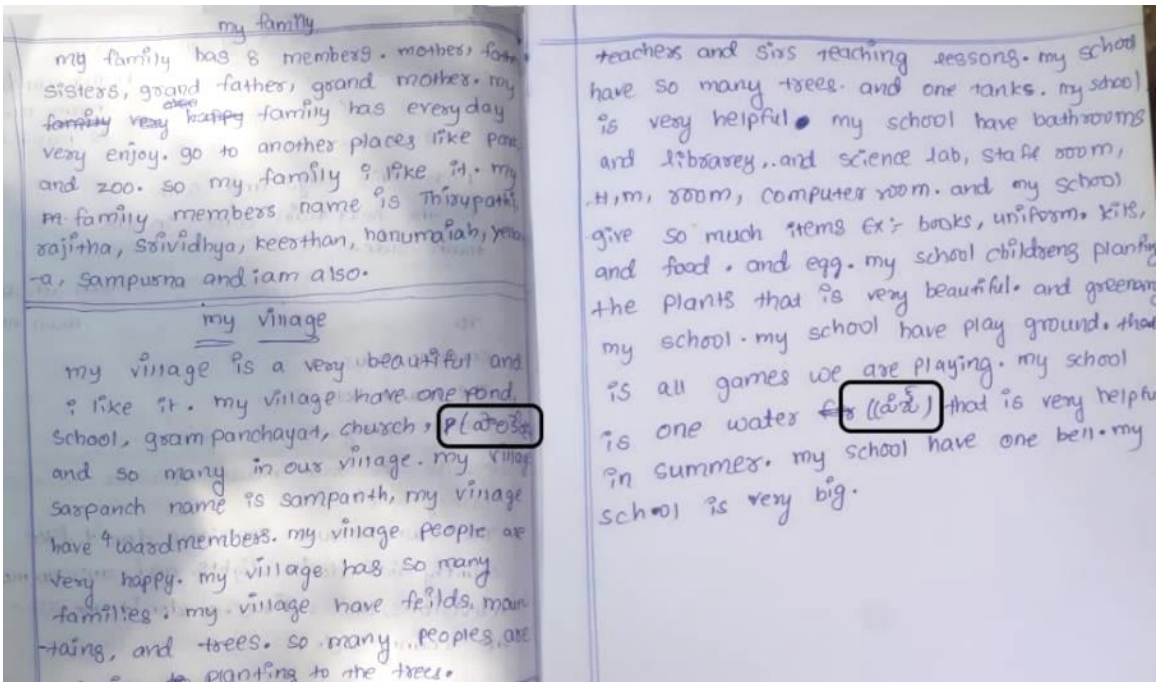
"food", "answer", "There was bread") in the following groupwork discussion of the answer to a comprehension question:

EXTRACT 7: Vinay/Obs.20/26:30	
S1: (reading question) "Why did the country mouse go back to his house in the country?"	S1: (reading question) "Why did the country mouse go back to his house in the country?"
S2: *Akkada* place *nachaka* back *poyindi*.	S2: *It doesn't like that* place *so it went* back.
S1: *Geedane*.	S1: *Here only*.
S2: *Enduku enakku poyindi*? Food *gitla nachaka pothey* back *poyindi*.	S2: *Why did it go back*? Food *is also not good, that's why it went* back.
S1: Food *kade gide ade*. There was bread, *gidi kadu idi kadu*.	S1: *Not* food, *not this one*. There was bread, *not that one*.
S3: Answer *gidhe* (SS look around to other groups briefly)	S3: *This* answer. (SS look around to other groups briefly)

Student written work was almost entirely in English, but even here he encouraged learners to use Telugu if they didn't know a word in English (e.g., Obs. 29, 31; see Figure 15).

Figure 15

Student 'English' text (Obs. 31, Gr. 7) including Telugu words (circled), as encouraged by the teacher



6.6. Curriculum coverage and planning

6.6.1. Curriculum coverage

Vinay's main unit of planning was one 'formative' (actually continuous) assessment cycle, of which there were four in the academic year (PLI2).

> JA: So this seems to be quite common in your teaching that you don't plan for one lesson?
> Yes, I plan to complete one formative … formative assessment. (PLI2b/01:20)

After introducing his learners to the continuous assessment framework and 'discourse' types within the curriculum (Obs. 9, 10), he allocated approximately half his subsequent lessons to continuously assessed project work and half to covering the curriculum, mainly through use of textbook texts, which were a common source for end of year exam content. He frequently omitted explicit grammar and lexical exercises, explaining this decision through reference to meaningful skills practice:

> Generally I omit the vocabulary exercises and the grammar activities that are given at the end of the textbook [chapters]. Because I notice that most of the activities given … are not focused on the meaning … The only thing is that we provide an answer and the students will copy from the book. So that is not going to work and there is no scope for the language production… (PLI5/11:00)

While he did teach occasional explicit grammar lessons, he did so only to provide remedial clarification and practice of areas where he had noticed learner difficulty, such as his choice to conduct a lesson on question forms (Obs. 32) after he noticed learners having difficulty with these (Obs. 18, 22).

While he made regular use of the audio-visual material created to support the textbooks, he only occasionally made use of any further TLMs (e.g., newspapers in his grade 10 class project work).

6.6.2. Planning

Vinay's planning tended to be long-term. While he indicated that he made changes each year, trying out different continuous assessment tasks, his planning for each lesson was mental only. No written notes were seen:

> The planning happens, everything here itself (points at his head) … It's in my mind. I plan everything there myself, I don't write anything and I don't put anything on paper. (ETI/35:50)

As such, his approach to planning mirrored his key beliefs about learning, a focus on process, getting learners into a "flow" of sorts (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014), and keeping the continuous cycles of learning lubricated as he monitored student work and gave feedback on presentations (see below).

6.7. Classroom practice

6.7.1. Lesson structure

While some lessons began with an introduction related to a text (Obs. 3, 5, 6, 7, 17, 21, 23, 25), some with learner presentations (Obs. 26, 29) and some with a lead into whole-class instruction (Obs. 5, 17, 23, 27, 28), the most frequently observed opening was an immediate instruction (Obs. 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 24, 26, 30) in which he provided an overview of tasks, deadlines and presentations for the day:

EXTRACT 8: Vinay/Obs.15/00:20

T: OK. Again, sit in groups and finish the remaining task. Yesterday you had written only interview questions, and you had to write the conversation between the snake and you, and you had to update your questions, and textual questions, completed, eight, four, only four, so all groups completed that, writing answers to the questions. *Anni* groups *chadivara ninna anni*? [*Did all* groups *read yesterday?*][28] OK, then two tasks, updating your interview questions…

S1: And conversation.

T: And conversation between the snake and you. Quick, sit in groups. If you are convenient you can sit there in the benches also, one group in one bench, like that.

Lessons would most often end quite abruptly with a mention of expectations/plans for next lesson (Obs. 13, 15, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28) and a reminder of homework tasks (Obs. 1, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 17, 22, 32); frequently to write up/improve answers to work conducted in class:

[28] Where only small amounts of other languages are used in an extract, only one column is used. These utterances are italicised and followed by the English translation in square brackets.

EXTRACT 9: Vinay/Obs.17/37:00	
T: So by tomorrow just go through all the questions and read the lesson again. *Haa?* And try to write answers to those questions. Answer *tappu ina parledu* but *rasukoni randi. Haa?* Answers *rasukoni randi.* Lesson *chadavali malli. Chadavali* question *chadavali malli rayali.*	T: So by tomorrow just go through all the questions and read the lesson again. *Yes?* And try to write answers to those questions. *Don't worry if the* answers *are correct,* but *write them and come. Yes? Write the* answers *and come. You should read the* lesson *again. You should read the* question, *read it again and rewrite it.*

End-of-lesson reviews were rare (Obs. 18 only), as was the presentation of formal objectives/learning outcomes at the start (only seen during AV lessons: Obs. 5, 17, 23).

6.7.2. Negotiation and improvisation

Negotiation with learners and improvisation were comparatively rare in Vinay's teaching, although there was some negotiation regarding plans for project lessons (Obs. 9, 15). On two occasions he had to abandon planned lessons at grade 7 (Obs. 11, 14) due to delays in English textbook delivery at the start of the year, and instead used English-medium social-science textbooks to practise and assess reading skills within what was a new class for him.

6.7.3. Whole class teaching

Although uncommon, whole class teaching was observed on several occasions, particularly when using the more didactic AV materials (Obs. 5, 17, 23, 25, 28) in the computer room, particularly at the start of new units. Such lessons would typically begin with the video overview (including objectives) of the unit and text, during which he sometimes provided listening/observation tasks (e.g., comprehension questions or tables and graphic organisers to complete), and then progress onto listening and reading skills practice tasks, sometimes in groups, typically followed by the use of whole-class questioning strategies to assess understanding of text content or to elicit feedback to tasks. Sometimes, he would also elect to pause the AV presentations to check understanding:

EXTRACT 10: Vinay/Obs.17/24:50

T: (pauses video) So can you identify: Who is town mouse and who is the country mouse there in the picture? (points at screen)

SS: (inaudible responses).

T: (pointing at figure on left): Is this town mouse?

SS (many): No. Country mouse.

T: (points at other): This is?

SS (many): Town mouse.

T: Why? What's the difference?

SS (various responses): Wear jackets. / Suitcase. / Spectacles.

T: *Haa* [*Yes*]. It looks. They wear jacket, specs (mimes these items) and carry a suitcase (shows on screen). So country mouse is very simple in a way. Uh? So it's the difference between the living style of the country and the town. (restarts video)

He would also make occasional presentations, usually using either AV material or internet-based resources. In extract 11 (accompanying Figure 16), he uses the internet to show a range of poster types to provide inspiration before explaining the focus of their poster:

Figure 16

Vinay shows learners example posters from the Internet (Obs. 28, Gr. 7)

EXTRACT 11: Vinay/Obs.28/13:00

T: (pausing video presentation) So our poster is different. We don't require these things (points at elements on screen). Ha, it's not an event, it's not a celebration, it's not an invitation. So our poster is about awareness. So the only thing is that we are going to write some things about the country life and some points? (rising intonation)

SS: (a few) Town life.

T: Town life. *Haa* [*Yes*]. If you want, you can write the heading, school name, and here you will write? (pauses, students don't respond) Town versus?

SS: Country.

6.7.4. Activities

Independent learner activities were a regular feature of Vinay's lessons (Obs. 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31). His default mode of interaction for activities was either their designated project groups or more informal bench groups, when he often provided gentle encouragement for them to work together:

EXTRACT 12: Vinay/Obs.15/3:05

T: Do that first. Write the conversation between the snake and you. Write individually and talk to your friends, ah? And prepare the final version.

He was aware of a number of challenges and dangers related to the frequent use of groupwork, particularly peer-copying (Obs. 6, 7, 15, 21, 24) and reliance on stronger group members to complete the work, and for this reason he sometimes also set individual work (e.g., Obs. 25, 32) to ensure that each learner thought for themselves (PLI6/08:35: "at least they can write one or two points of their own"). Nonetheless, he perceived the advantages of collaboration outweighed these dangers:

> In the group always there are one or two active, they will take the lead position, and the others are simply looking at the work the others are doing. But this gives better results than asking them to work individually, because at least one day they will also try. (PLI1/13:30)

While he avoided the grammatical and lexical practice activities in the book, he made regular use of text comprehension tasks, such as comprehension questions, graphic organisers and diagram completion tasks (e.g., Obs. 20, 21, 25, 27):

EXTRACT 13: Vinay/Obs.21/13:35

T: So there is a table at the end of the lesson, ah? There are gaps in it, name of the person, his failure stories and final success. So read the lesson again, find out the answers and fill that table. Use pencil.

During project work lessons, activities typically had a writing or presentation preparation focus, including writing creative dialogues (Obs. 15), descriptive texts (Obs. 31), posters (Obs. 27), notices (Obs. 30) and questions for interviews (Obs. 18). Differentiation was often evident. More able learners were encouraged to produce longer, more cohesive texts (Obs. 16), complete additional tasks (Obs. 16), or answer more questions (Obs. 20). Less able learners were given additional time to complete basic tasks (Obs. 28, 30) or to write lists of keywords, instead of cohesive texts (e.g., Obs. 1, 31). Speaking communication activities were rare, occurring in improvised lessons only, including a running dictation (Obs. 14, when learners had no English textbooks) and an 'onion-ring' discussion game (Obs. 31, outside, when two classes had to be merged due to teacher absenteeism).

6.7.5. Monitoring

Often at the start of activities, Vinay moved quickly around the class, checking all were on task and working appropriately:

> I want to observe what they are doing … And I want to check whether all the group members are participating or not. Are they on the same track, or are they doing something else? … If they are moving away from my activity or my task, then I will interact with them and show the right direction to them. (PLI1/09:10)

As work progressed, he began to provide tuition to individuals or groups (Obs. 6, 8, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 28, 31), including usually fairly directive guidance on texts, comprehension questions (see extract 6), and project work (Obs. 16):

EXTRACT 14: Vinay/Obs.16/44:00

S1: Sir? (T approaches. S1 points at newspaper article she has found)

T: (looks at the article) So what is the discourse you are going to write?

S1: Conversation.

T: Instead of conversation, you can write a letter to the government. To avoid these things, not to happen such incidents, control the profit of police, and avoid the people sleeping on the footpaths. So you can write a letter.

If he noticed common challenges or errors while monitoring, he would provide ongoing observational feedback to the whole class (e.g., advice, suggestions; Obs. 7, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 28):

EXTRACT 15: Vinay/Obs.21/24:50

T: (to whole class, after observing SS' individual work) And don't search for particular information, better to read a complete paragraph. Suppose the first column is about, who is that person there?

SS: Abraham Lincoln.

T: Abraham Lincoln, so if you want to fill the information about Abraham Lincoln, you have to read the complete paragraph about Abraham Lincoln. *Haa?* [*Yes*?] Only searching for that failure stories, success stories you won't get. Read the entire paragraph.

At regular intervals (c. 5–10 minutes), he would also provide progress reminders:

EXTRACT 16: Vinay/Obs.20/23:20

T: After five minutes you have to stop. And whatever the answers you have written, just get up and read. With remaining we will write tomorrow. So last five minutes time. Finish it first.

6.7.6. Feedback to activities and student presentations

Student presentations were a regular feature of Vinay's cyclical approach. He identified three aims for presentations: to build confidence, to provide feedback (both corrective and content-related), and to provide learning opportunities for other groups:

> So the primary intention of that activity is to give them the confidence that they did it well and also I want to go through that, whatever they have done. So this helps me to

> simplify my work because going to each group and checking the things is difficult. So if they come onto the dais, I can listen to them. If possible, I can give some suggestions. So other groups also, if they pay attention, they are also going to get benefit from that. (ETI/10:46)

There were often two or three such presentations during project-work lessons, each 1–6 minutes long, delivered from the raised dais at the front of the class, and occurring whenever groups had finished specific tasks. At the start of the observation period (also the beginning of the academic year) most groups finished tasks at the same time. As time progressed, I noticed that presentations became more staggered to allow for differentiated completion rates (Obs. 19, 26). Typically stronger learners led these presentations, although he would occasionally encourage quieter students to participate, particularly in more extended, formal presentations (e.g., Obs. 30).

Despite Vinay's professed intention that other groups might learn from them, it was often difficult for learners to hear presenters due to the combination of noisy fans and quiet voices when speaking, so some continued working on their own projects. Vinay sometimes repeated presenters' utterances in a louder voice, either simply echoing their comments or also providing feedback. This included corrections, through the form of recasts, explicit correction, or negotiated correction, and suggestions for improvement. In the following extract from a pairwork presentation of a creative dialogue by two stronger students, he provides corrective feedback of several types:

EXTRACT 17: Vinay/Obs.15/22:50

S1: Why are you landed on the doctor's shoulder?

S2: I didn't see there is doctor. I think there is roof?

S1: If doctor can move from that place, you can collide the doctor.

S2: Yes, I can collide because I am very hungry.

T: (interrupting her and checking meaning) What is that, polite?

S2: Collide.

T: Collide, collide, *tagalatama?* [*hit*] Hit, ah? Replace that word. Next.

S1: Why you see your face on doctor's shoulder?

S2: When I landed on doctor's shoulder, I can see his face on mirror. That's why I'm able to see mirror.

S1: What do you think about you when you are seeing mirror?

T: (reformulating) What do you think about yourself when you look into the mirror, when you look into the mirror?

S2: I can think about my beauty.

T: I am thinking about (x), I was thinking about my beauty. Ah? Can, instead of using can, you can replace words. Used a number of times, can, can, can, ah?

S1: Was you admiring your own beauty?

T: (louder, with reformulation) Are you admiring your own beauty?

Although I observed more corrective feedback than formative suggestions, Vinay perceived the majority of his feedback was of the latter type:

> Generally I correct, but I'm not correcting language aspect. I'm telling them to update the information they have written. If they've completed step one, so how to move onto step two, so for that I'm giving feedback. They have to rewrite again, relocate it and revisit it. (ETI/11:50)

As stronger groups (often female) tended to finish first, they were also first to present, and Vinay's feedback to them was often more critical, challenging them to achieve more (as in the previous extract; also Obs. 13, 15, 18). Weaker groups were more likely to receive more praise and less direct correction (Obs. 1, 7, 10, 12, 15, 19, 26, 30, 31). While this rather public feedback carried the danger of undermining learners' confidence (see 6.11.2), it also served an organic purpose of pushing the stronger groups, and giving a sense of achievement to the lower-achieving groups.

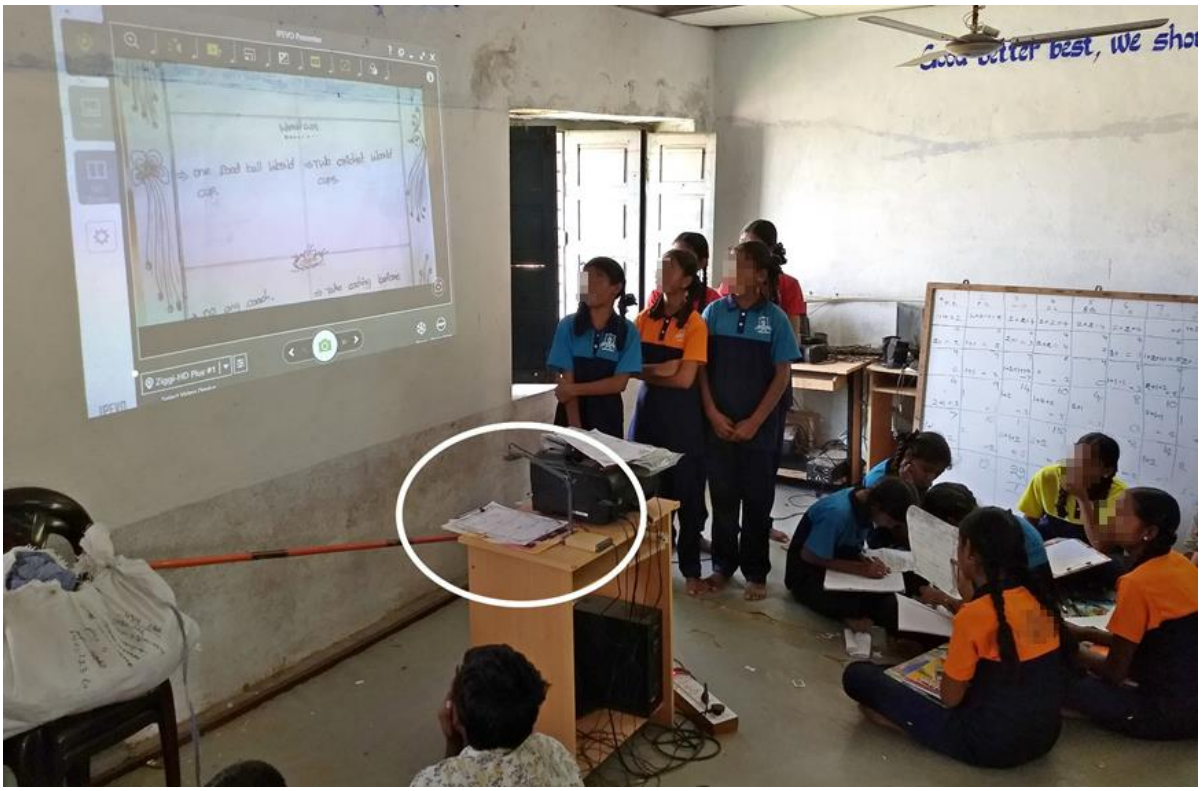
More formal AV-enhanced presentations were also observed at the culmination of specific projects (Obs. 29, 30), involving the use of a document reader (circled in Figure 17) to present hand-written "slides" (grade 9) and discourse texts, including notices and letters (grade 10), from which learners read aloud and received peer applause upon completion. They were also asked to write reports on their project experiences:

EXTRACT 18: Vinay/Obs.29/37:33

T: And those who are already finished, you have to write a brief report of your project, so your journey: how you began, how it went well, what are the struggles or the challenges you faced while preparing your project, and even while presenting. Write individually not groupwork. OK?

Figure 17

Students presenting project work 'slides' via document reader (circled) (Obs. 29, Gr. 9)



6.7.7. Other aspects of Vinay's classroom practice

Learner training was particularly noticeable as this was the start of the academic year, including guidance on how to organise notes, study effectively and complete reading comprehension questions (Obs. 3, 6, 7, 15, 17, 20). Pairwork reading was observed on one occasion (Obs. 11), with peer-correction when a partner heard a pronunciation error.

Text interpretation was not observed, although on occasion he would paraphrase sections of text in simplified English (Obs. 20, 24, 25).

6.8. Subject knowledge and PCK

Vinay was confident and fluent in his use of English (C1–C2 level), with few (generally minor) "errors" when compared to standard Indian English (e.g., Sailaja, 2009), although his accent and language choices were influenced by a clear Telugu identity. Unlike many other English teachers in India (and several of the participant teachers in this study) he showed

little interest in English literature; to him, the language was a functional tool that he used and taught for communicative purposes only.

Because very little teacher-led instruction was observed in his lessons, it was difficult to assess the extent of his formal subject knowledge (e.g., explicit knowledge of grammar or lexis), although in one formal grammar lesson (Obs. 32) he demonstrated clear awareness, not only of the complex question formation rules of English, but also of how to make these rules transparent to his learners through carefully scaffolded transformation tasks, and provide appropriate practice opportunities – evidence of a well developed PCK in this area. The majority of 'input' that he provided for learners came through his corrective feedback (see above) and his ongoing observational feedback to the whole class, as in the following example, indicating greater interest in developing his learners' creativity and imagination (higher order thinking skills), rather than their explicit knowledge about the language:

EXTRACT 19: Vinay/Obs.15/35:45

T: (addressing whole class) So, just I noticed one thing. So when you write the conversation, so there must be questions from the two sides. But what happened here, no? (rising intonation, indicating the latest conversation) Always boy or the girl is asking questions, and the snake is replying. So you can include some questions from the snake's point of view, also. Snake is also going to ask some questions about the boy. So why do human beings kill the snakes? So this is the question from the snake. So it's a mix of both. The questions from the girl or the boy, and the questions from the snake as well. So you can add those things also in your conversation again. (turns to boys who presented) Good! (claps)

6.9. Reflection

Despite the fact that his planning cycles rarely involved identifying aims for specific lessons, during post-lesson interviews, Vinay was nonetheless able to identify and reflect upon specific, often processual aims for each lesson (consistent with his approach), at times stating differentiated aims for female and male students:

> JA: So what were your aims or intentions for today's lesson?
>
> Today's lesson was different for the boys and the girls … So for the girls, today's task is to refer to the newspaper and to identify the news items, so that they can extract the four discourses from them. (PLI2/00:40)

JA: So what are your reflections on the lesson today? How do you feel it went?

It's fine, but still I have to find the different strategies to make the boys involved in the classroom activities, and different strategies to motivate them better. Still I am struggling there. (PLI2/03:00)

While self-criticality was fairly rare during PLIs, he did reveal a perceived personal weakness on several occasions (see 6.4.1), that of his difficulty in remembering individual learners' names, and, by extension, their developmental needs and interests. When I asked him during PLIs to reflect on the learning of an individual, he often either picked a strong learner who had presented (PLI1, PLI2, PLI4) or a group, such as "the boys" (PLI6). In PLI7 he selected a weaker learner in his new grade 7 class and reflected more critically on his lack of engagement:

JA: How much is he understanding and learning in these lessons, do you think?

Maybe I don't think so, because that shows his interest. If he came to school without notebook and without pencil, he's not at all interested in the studies, so we have to put more concentration on that boy. (PLI7/08:20)

As noted above, it seemed that Vinay's focus was primarily processual, rather than oriented around more specific objectives. This was consistent with his focus on the natural, implicit process of language learning, within which his aim is primarily to provide the exposure and opportunity for use. His own awareness of SLA theory had likely provided stimulus for this approach – Krashen and Prabhu were two names he mentioned with whose theories his practice was broadly consistent. However, it seems that he had developed his approach in relative isolation, finding the need almost always to adapt practices to his context through his ability to engage in "introspection". He elaborated on what he meant by this term on one occasion, implying a reflective practice process involving trial-and-error experimentation:

…an effective teacher … should continue to read things and continue to experiment in the classroom. There is no need to take the feedback from others. You can experiment. … So this kind of introspection definitely helps the teacher to become an effective teacher, even alone. (ETI/30:45)

JA: … What does it mean to introspect your practices?

Checking yourself. Suppose, in the initial stage of my career, I used to tell everything, and I write some charts on the board and posters throughout the class and asked the students to read. So after doing such hard work, I realised they are not interested, they are not learning anything, so this is a kind of introspection. Then I

> have to think of alternatives, so what else can I do, because this is not going to work. So then I find an alternative, and this is how we improve, by checking ourselves. (ETI/31:37)

This "checking ourselves" is consistent with Dewey's hypothesis testing approach to reflection (1933, p. 107), and also Vinay's own experiences of action research. It was also consistent with a comment he made during an animated discussion one day with a colleague who had lamented the fact that his students "cannot learn", due to (implied innate) "faults". To this Vinay replied "If they are not learning, we have to find faults with us, not them" (field notes, p. 25).

6.10. Professionalism

Vinay held firm beliefs that were noticeably different from those of his local colleagues, who almost all taught much more transmissively than he did (NPTOs 4–8). He confirmed that he had never once undergone senior observation (e.g., by a line manager or head teacher; ETI/25:20), further evidence of his isolation. Nonetheless, due to his commitment to be "a continuous learner" (ETI/37:00) and his interest in EdTech, he maintained contact with like-minded teachers through social media and "personal learning network[s]", which seemed to be critical to his own development:

> Generally I use a lot social media, regularly Facebook. So that made me connect with a wider audience throughout India, even out of India. … so that helps me to read a number of articles based around and related to language teaching, and those things sometimes I will try in the classrooms, I will experiment. And sometimes there are opportunities like attending webinars and conferences … so all these things happen because of the networking that happens through social media. (ETI/29:40)

Ever since the early experiences that seemed to solidify his identity as an English language teacher educator (see 6.1.2), he has continued to engage in CPD, primarily through online networks and conference visits. As well as his Fulbright Scholarship and the "twenty to twenty-five online courses" he had completed (LHIa/1:12:15), he has participated in British Council initiatives on action research, one published, and also collaborated on a project successfully with a teacher in the USA. He maintains his own website (where he shares numerous resources), and regularly presents at regional and national conferences on

teaching. I bumped into him at two such events in Telangana, both of which he was involved in as a "resource person" (i.e., trainer).

When asked about his personal motivation, he cited both "self-motivation" and "social recognition" as key factors. While he had failed to live up to his father's expectations of becoming a doctor early in life, the fact that he had persevered, and succeeded made him secure in his identity as an English teacher and teacher educator, it seems, partly because of this recognition:

> Because of doing all these things I was recognised everywhere, even in the district, even in the state. State authorities also invited me to prepare training modules, giving digital lessons. (LHIb/01:20)

6.11. Observer reflexivity

6.11.1. Reactivity to my presence

On the first day of my visit to his school, Vinay confided that he wanted me to observe all his lessons (field notes, p. 39), evidence, not only that he had nothing to hide, but also that he viewed me as a resource for his own CPD as much as for his learners. He was particularly eager to receive "feedback" from me on his teaching at the end of my visit.

During the 32 observations and 10 interviews conducted, I noticed no change in Vinay's behaviour and views, even in areas where many experienced teachers are typically impacted by the observer effect (e.g., degree of planning, use of resources). When asked about this impact, he felt that the only significant difference was a slight increase in his use of English (estimating approximately 10%), something he revealed that his learners had also observed: "Sir is speaking more English" (field notes, p. 64). Nonetheless, his candour, honesty and desire for feedback all pointed towards a comparatively low impact of the observer effect on his practice.

6.11.2. Personal critical reflections on aspects of Vinay's teaching

A number of contextual factors made Vinay's original, project-based approach possible in his lessons when I suspect it would have been more difficult for other participant teachers, and others across India. Firstly, the relative autonomy and authority that he commanded in

his fairly remote rural school meant that few, including his head teacher, deemed it appropriate to challenge his approach. Secondly, with comparatively small classes and plenty of space both inside and outside in the school grounds (note the use of spaces under trees, and the frequently free computer room), there was room for groups to sit and work together, and presentations to take place. Finally, the fact that the Telangana State Secondary English Curriculum is more progressive than others in India, both through the focus on "discourses" (showing some features consistent with text-based language teaching; Feez, 1998), and the use of textbooks that, especially for English-medium learners, are somewhat easier than those promoted in other boards (e.g., Maharashtra), makes independent reading a little easier, if still challenging, for his learners. Thus, his approach clearly achieved appropriate outcomes, insomuch as it facilitated both extensive learning and above average achievement in board exams for what were highly disadvantaged learners.

Nonetheless, I developed critical concerns in three areas during the observation period, which we discussed in our final interview, after completing data collection. These include the possibility that his less able learners (particularly the more challenged male learners in grades 9 and 10) may require more direct support—even in basic literacy for several—than his processual approach was providing. As a result, they often did not work very well together in groups, frequently copied from the strongest group member, and were often disruptive; challenges that Vinay also acknowledged (PLI1, PLI2). It was notable that, when completing the rank order task during the learner focus group interviews, Vinay's learners ranked "includes pair and groupwork" lower on average than the learners of other participant teachers among the ten qualities of a "good teacher". This may reflect their concern for—or at least expectation of—more direct instruction, at least at the start of the academic year, when some of them were new to his approach.

A second concern was the rather exposed fashion in which learners received critical feedback from him during presentations (see extract 17). While this feedback was always combined with praise and may have served to push his higher-achieving learners, some seemed to be somewhat despondent after presentations, which may have impacted negatively on their self-esteem. Further, as they were presenting at such times, they were rarely able to take anything more than cursory notes in response to his feedback, relying primarily on memory to make corrections.

The final area was Vinay's lack of awareness of some of his learners' individual needs, linked to his own admitted personal challenge of remembering their names. This limited his knowledge of what kind of feedback may be appropriate for individuals, and restricted his awareness of personal progress and learning preferences. However, the fact that he expressed clear awareness of the first and last of these issues (less so the second concern) provided further evidence that his continuing "introspection" enabled him to continue developing in areas of perceived weakness – a key element in the making of his expertise.

6.11.3. Respondent validation

After reading the above case description, Vinay was, in general, very happy with it:

> Completed first (thumbs up emoji, bunch of flowers emoji) reading. Really wonderful experience. Will read again critically. Thank you for providing the details of my own teaching. Well organised. (WA/05.10.20)

He provided more detailed feedback through a longer interview, where he again reaffirmed this opinion, noting "it gives me great insights about my teaching, my belief system and my pedagogy and how it works" (RV/05:55). When I asked if there were any areas that were "underrepresented" in my account, he felt his classroom instructions could have received more focus:

> So the teacher's classroom instructions reflect his pedagogy and belief system. So that is not much highlighted. (RV/05:15)

As a result of this, I added further discussion of this in 6.7 above and additional extracts in 6.3.3 and 6.7.4.

I also asked him if he felt my critical concerns were fair. He felt they were, and discussed further his approach and what he had learnt from reading the case description:

> JA: Was my writing about how you give feedback, was that fair, was that accurate?
> Yeah, that's fine. Because actually what I feel now, generally I never thought that I'm giving feedback, but it's a kind of repetition, whatever they have written, in the process I reconstruct the sentences and I rephrase the sentences … I have never realised that it is a kind of feedback that I'm giving. (RV/09:10)

Chapter 7. Case description 2: Dipika

7.1. Context

7.1.1. School context

Dipika works in a medium-sized (c. 850 students), government-aided, Hindi-medium secondary school on the edge of a large slum in one of Maharashtra's largest cities. The majority of her learners come from socially disadvantaged families (31% SC/ST; 33% OBC), often recent migrants to the city. Their parents work mainly as cleaners, labourers and rickshaw drivers, often with no, or rudimentary, literacy. Problems such as unemployment, alcoholism and "broken families" are common in the community (ETI), meaning that behaviour management is a significant challenge for teachers. However, the most obvious challenge at the school is overcrowding, compounded by ongoing construction work in close proximity to the active classrooms at the time of my visit (see Figure 18). Class sizes in the lessons I observed averaged 52 students.

Figure 18

Students pack into a tiny courtyard for morning assembly

Despite these significant challenges, the school achieves good exam results, likely due to a combination of strict, almost military-like discipline (of both students and teachers) and a very strong emphasis on exam success, requiring secondary teachers to focus predominantly on exam practice in class, using both the official state board textbook and exam-oriented workbooks that students are told to buy, presenting another challenge for Dipika:

> In our institution they tell us to use the workbook because it is exam-based … they are not worried about what a child learns, they want results from the teacher. Even if the child is very good in reading English or writing English and he is not scoring good marks, then he is of no use to them … and for good results we have to follow the examination pattern, which is easier in a workbook. (PLI3/05:00)

Like all teachers at her school, Dipika is thus under great pressure to maintain exam success (one teacher was dismissed for poor performance during my visit). However, Dipika also recognises the importance of these exams for her learners' future, and her responsibility to safeguard their prospects:

> There are students who come to me and say we don't like English, we are not going to pursue it any further, that I am going to be a vendor. What is the use of learning English? So then I have to make them understand that, see this is an essential subject … even if you want to become a vendor, you have to pass 10th standard, so please, for the sake of just passing this exam, be attentive in the class and you'll see that it is going to help you in the future. (ETI/11:30)

During focus group interviews, learners consistently echoed the school's emphasis on exam preparation, ranking "Helps us to prepare for exams" as the second of ten qualities of a "good teacher" on average.

7.1.2. Personal background

Dipika was raised in a lower-middle class Hindu family, and sent to a private, English-medium Christian convent school on the wish of her mother, despite the significant financial challenges this caused the family. The curriculum at the school was broad, including physical education, gardening, cooking, care for the elderly, and even elocution alongside core subjects, a far cry from her current context. She clearly held fond memories of those days:

> It was my golden age for me, as well as my school mates also. We are all in contact and we always talk about our school days. So it was a totally out-of-the-world experience studying in [school name]. (LHIa/04:35)

Upon graduation she was unsure of which career to choose, so she continued studying towards a qualification in accounting at evening school, funding this through private tutoring and teaching in English-medium private schools and colleges, which she enjoyed, although she was not yet serious about teaching (LHIa/43:20). After agreeing to an arranged marriage, she stopped working, although soon found herself unfulfilled and looking for a way "just to go out of the house" (LHIa/52:30), so she completed a BEd and returned to teaching. Her identity as a teacher was starting to crystallise:

> JA: At that point did you see yourself as a teacher, or did you see it as a way to get away from a situation at home that you weren't very happy with?
>
> Both. I am that kind of a person who cannot play with the future of students. I enjoy earning money, I have fun with my career, but at the end of the day I know that I have to deliver goods for the bread I am earning, so now I became a bit serious about it. (LHIa/1:01:30)

In 1993, she secured her current post, where she has worked ever since. Of the many challenges she faces at the school, Dipika recalls having to learn to teach English in Hindi, after being educated herself in English and having taught only in English-medium institutions:

> Why was [this new job] difficult? Because I did not know how to teach English in Hindi. I didn't know Hindi terms for English terms, so there was a senior teacher called Mrs [A], she used to help me a lot … And she taught me translation method of teaching … Before this all [my] teaching was in English. (LHIb/01:00)

She recalls that she was a fairly typical teacher back then, accepting the use of corporal punishment (widespread at the time) but also questioning such practices: "I thought it is better to be a friend than to be a dictator in the class" (LHIb/11:00). After initially pursuing her professional development through numerous training workshops and courses, and then completing her MA in 2012, Dipika began to work in a teacher educator role, mainly on top-down, state-wide initiatives (see 7.10). It was around this time that she finally began to see herself as a teacher, although it is notable that she feels little affinity to the subject of English, even today:

> JA: Would you say that you love teaching in general, or that you love teaching English? Which is your passion: Is it the subject or is it the job of teacher?
> It is the job of a teacher. I can teach anything which I like. And I'm not a master of English language, you know? You can ask me some questions and I'll go blank, but I know that I can teach anything very well. (LHIb/36:25)

7.2. Key beliefs

7.2.1. Engagement leads to understanding

Perhaps the most noticeable of Dipika's beliefs about teaching is a conviction in the importance of engaging her learners at all times (ETI, PLI1, PLI6), with a particular interest in the more disaffected members of her classes:

> I reflect a lot on how the class reacts to my teaching, especially the children who are not interested in learning. I reflect a lot on them, and try to change my teaching according to them. I feel that if I am able to teach a child who is not interested in learning I have achieved something … If a child wants to learn, it is not necessary that he has a good teacher. It is his willpower which will make him learn. But a child who is not interested in learning needs a good teacher to show him what is the importance of learning. (LHIa/38:42)

It is this engagement that she believes ensures that disturbance and disruption is minimised, but more importantly for her, it is this engagement that leads to learning:

> If I can understand what they like, what they are interested in and then take them towards the topic, then learning starts. (ETI/01:30)

Closely allied to this is a belief in prioritising learner understanding of lesson content across the class to keep learners engaged (ETI). For this reason, she is often willing to sacrifice use of English in class, and teaches all but the highest performing class predominantly in Hindi (PLI2, ETI).

7.2.2. Linking learning to students' lives and schemata

Dipika often espouses a constructivist view of education, in which she describes building on prior knowledge and familiar examples, and personalising lesson content as central to generating the required engagement:

> Children are not blank slates. There is always something there in their minds when they come to your school. They already know many things, and you just have to pick up on that and start teaching. (ETI/28:50)

7.2.3. Moral guidance

Dipika sees it as an important part of her teaching to provide moral guidance to her learners (PLI1, PLI2, LHI, ETI), and even be a role model for them (ETI), sometimes referencing moral learning among her lesson aims:

> I wanted them to take home the key point that handicapped is different from being disabled. (PLI2/01:00)

Her belief in providing such guidance to her learners is, nonetheless, not romantic or idealistic. She also provided more practical advice for life:

> I'm not Mahatma Gandhi, and I don't want to take the place of God. I'm a simple human being, so I don't tell them that you should not cheat or you should not lie. I also teach them how to lie, when to lie and when to cheat, and that is wrong (laughs)… that *saam, daam, dand, bhed* [entice, pay off, punish, blackmail]. (ETI/1:00:20)

7.2.4. Building self-esteem

She also mentioned on a number of occasions the importance of building their confidence to achieve their ambitions, and make use of what they have learnt to do this (LHI, ETI, PLI2):

> For me the most important thing is that a child should gain confidence in whatever he is doing, whether it is language, or whether it is his life. When a child goes out of my class, he should not only remember the text … or the grammar lessons, he should remember how I want his future to be shaped, how I want him to be successful in the world. I think I want that as a larger aim in my teaching. (ETI/10:10)

7.3. Key features

7.3.1. Teaching English in Hindi

Dipika essentially teaches English as a written language, using Hindi as the medium of instruction. Given that the exam involves only two skills (reading and writing), and focuses as much on aspects of English literature and "seen text" content as on English language

skills, such an approach is not as counterintuitive as it may seem to an outside observer, and is comparable to how Classics have been taught in European schools for centuries, and how English is taught in some countries today (see, e.g., Smith & Imura, 2004). While government textbooks, student notes and boardwork are all in English (workbooks were notably bilingual), the majority of her spoken interaction was in a translingual Hindi, infused with English phrases and lexis, which constituted on average 28% of her languaging resources during observed lessons.

7.3.2. Prioritising engagement

Dipika's ability to engage the whole class was evident during observations. Often, during whole-class teaching, when I scanned the room, almost all had their gaze focused on her, and they responded to her input and elicitation appropriately (Obs. 6, 11, 13, 22, 28, 32). She made frequent use of humour, personal stories and moral advice to maintain student engagement throughout the lesson (Obs. 6, 11, 13, 19, 22, 28, 32). While the government textbook texts were often rather irrelevant to Indian teenagers, Dipika tried to build interest in them and sustain it by drawing links to learners' lives, and areas of interest. In the following example, she checks prior knowledge and builds interest towards a text on Stephen Hawking, turning their lack of awareness into a positive resource; "*Aur* interesting *ho jaega*…" to build anticipation:

EXTRACT 20: Dipika/Obs.11/13:00

T: Doctor Stephen Hawking. *Kiski unka naam pahle sunna hai? Ya inko* TV *par pahle dekha hai? Kisi ne sunna hai?*	T: Doctor Stephen Hawking. *Who has heard of his name before? Or seen him on* TV *before? Anyone heard of him?*
S1: *Nahi.*	S1: *No.*
T: *Nahi? Kisi ne dekha hai* TV *par unko?*	T: *No? Anyone seen him on* TV*?*
SS: *Nahi.*	SS: *No.*
T: *Kisi ko unke bare me kuch malum hai?* (silence) *Kisi ko nahin malum hai? Chalo tab to. Aur* interesting *ho jaega. Nahin diya pata chale. Agar aap kuch pata rahata to* boring *ho jaata hai. Aur nahin pata rahata to accha lagata hai!*	T: *Does anyone know anything about him?* (silence) *Nobody knows anything? Come on then. It will be more* interesting*. Nothing is known. If you know something, it becomes* boring*. And if you don't know so much, then it feels good!*

During one lesson (Obs. 28) she kept a class amused as she summarised a story about a mischievous child from the textbook in her own words, punctuating it with related personal anecdotes from her own childhood that prompted much laughter (see Figure 19). It seems to have been a rare example of something she had referred to in one interview, when she said that she doesn't feel "in the mood to teach":

> I feel like the students also are getting bored with me continuously teaching them something. So I have fun with the children. I give them activities, I ask them to tell stories. I tell stories … And I make the students laugh. (LHIb/45:00)

Figure 19

Learners enjoying Dipika's anecdotes (Obs. 28, Gr. 10)

7.3.3. Building confidence and esteem

Dipika regularly conducted activities in ways that intentionally built learners' confidence (Obs. 6, 11, 12, 15, 16) in what both teachers and learners often perceived was a "killer subject" (ETI/06:50), including the use of scaffolding ("come down to their level" as she put it; ETI/08:05), frequent, but not gratuitous, praise (Obs. 7, 10, 11, 13, 16, 19, 22, 25), making them "at ease with the language" (ETI/07:05), nominating students purposively based on her perception of who might be able to answer successfully (PLI5), and highlighting achievement when they had completed a difficult activity, even if this was with extensive help from her and they themselves doubted that they could succeed (PLI1, PLI2):

> I never tell this that you will never pass in the exam, or the paper is going to be difficult, you won't be able to do it. I always say that passing in the exam is very easy, and I have to keep them motivated for it, that yes, you can do it. (PLI1/19:45)

Confidence-building and motivating strategies were noticed frequently in class:

EXTRACT 21: Dipika/Obs.15/04:00	
T: *Yah* drill *ham log kyon karte? Kyoki isme hamko* full marks *chahie, thik hai?*	T: *Why are we doing this* drill? *Because we need* full marks *on it* (in the exam), *alright?*
T: (04:25) Second *vale me,* copy *karna isme koi dimaag nahi lagta hai!*	T: (04:25) *As for the* second *one,* copying *it is a piece of cake!*

In her grade 9 class, after eliciting a range of original similes from the students (e.g., faster than a rocket ship), she noted:

EXTRACT 22: Dipika/Obs.16/14:30	
T: *Aise zaruri nahi hai ki mene* board *par jo likha hai, kya? Aapko bhi* creative *dimaag hai.*	T: *There's no need for what I have written on the* board *there, is there? You also have* creative *minds.*

7.3.4. Whole class interactive teaching

While Dipika's teaching included regular use of independent activity work, the most common interaction pattern in her lesson constituted what is often called "whole class interactive teaching" (e.g., Campbell et al., 2004a, p. 36). This was teacher-led interaction, involving frequent questioning (both lower and higher order), elicitation of ideas and suggestions, and regular scaffolding, while attempting to keep learners engaged by building curiosity, drawing upon accessible metaphors, and frequently linking content to their prior knowledge and experience. It was frequently followed by independent learner activities (sometimes collaborative) in ways that mirrored the process of Direct Instruction (see, e.g., Hattie, 2009, pp. 204–206).

7.4. Interpersonal practice

7.4.1. Relationships

Dipika's relationships with her learners were characterised by trust, respect and understanding, even for the more disruptive members of her classes. She never blamed such learners for their behaviour (LHI, PLI2), rather she showed sympathy and understanding of their challenges (ETI, PLI5):

> I try to understand them as human beings, not as my learners. I try to understand their parents. Why they behave in such a peculiar manner? Why do they indulge in such things, like drinking or beating their children? Or beating their mothers in front of their children, and what effect it has on their children. I talk to them about all these things. (ETI/59:50)

She was aware that her role as a teacher sometimes needed to extend beyond the classroom, particularly her pastoral obligations:

> If [a child] asks me, 'Ma'am, please talk with my parents about this'. I make it a point that I take that point to their parents. (ETI/1:01:20)

Praise was frequent during lessons, sometimes including peer-applause (Obs. 7, 10, 11, 13, 16, 19, 22, 25), and carefully differentiated (PLI3), including praise for less able learners who showed the courage to answer (e.g., Obs. 13, 18). Correction was frequent and clear, yet usually sensitive (Obs. 11, 13, 15, 18, 20, 24, 26, 34) and occurred less often during whole class teaching, when she more often adopted the role of "listener":

> If I say no, no, your answer is wrong, straight away, what happens is that others don't even try speaking in the class, so I have to listen to whatever is said by the students … they know that the teacher is ready to listen to me, whatever I speak, she is going to listen to me. (PLI4/14:32)

7.4.2. Behaviour management

Dipika exhibited effective behaviour management throughout the observation period (e.g., Obs. 13, 16, 19, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 34)—particularly important in a school where classes were large and disruptive learners were often influential (PLI3)—a quality for which she was admired by colleagues. She did this primarily through engagement, but also through her classroom presence: a powerful voice that she used to silence classes within seconds upon

arrival (Obs. 16, 25, 28, 32), her willingness to move potentially disruptive learners before beginning a class (Obs. 32), and perceptive observation that could spot learners who were not concentrating among 50–60 who were, without interrupting the flow of a lesson (Obs. 13, 26):

EXTRACT 23: Dipika/Obs.26/15:15

T: *Sabse pahle kabhee bhee ham* paragraph writing *karte hain.* (T. spots several learners distracted by a disturbance in the corridor) *Jo log baahar dekh le vah baahar jaakar khade ho sakte hain. Koee bhee* topic *ke baare mein likhte hai, to uske baare mein apne man se ek, do* sentence *likhane aana chaahie apane ko.*	T: *First of all, we will do some* paragraph writing. (T. spots several learners distracted by a disturbance in the corridor) *Those of you who are looking outside, can go and stand out there. Whatever* topic *you are writing about, you should be able to write one or two* sentences *from your mind about it.*

Her typically brisk pace encouraged learners to remain studious throughout lessons. She often used quiet reminders or humour when disruptive learners began to steer off-course (e.g., Obs. 22, 28), but was careful to maintain respect at such moments. On one occasion (Obs. 22), she nominated a learner she later described as "very naughty and mischievous" (PLI5) to give an answer. He attempted to "irritate" her by making a coded reference to alcohol in his response, but she continued to interact with interest. Afterwards she explained:

> I think it is better that a child understands that without getting into a discussion, or without getting into some verbal spat, that a teacher can understand me, and not demotivate me or insult me in front of the class. He knew that I understood what he was saying, and it's OK with me. (PLI5/18:30)

She revealed the extent of her knowledge of this learner's challenges; his father was chronically ill, and, as a result, "he has grown too fast for his age". She had intentionally nominated him at that point:

> Sometimes I think it is better if he is seeking attention to give him some attention … Every day whenever he is there in my class, after one or two days I make it a point to ask him some answers and talk to him. (PLI5/19:30)

However, as well as such moments of careful sensitivity, she was also willing to reprimand learners when they overstepped boundaries of acceptable behaviour (e.g., making disruptors stand until they answered a question; Obs. 20, 34).

7.5. Languaging practice

7.5.1. Teacher's languaging practice

Dipika taught English mainly in Hindi (m = 72% of total resources), primarily due to the pressure to achieve results in a written-only exam: "If I have to teach them in English … I know that I won't produce results." (ETI/20:30). However, beliefs in the importance of moral instruction and the development of thinking skills first were also influential here:

> Whenever I'm not satisfied with the way they answer, you know, then I feel I should do it in Hindi … because I think that once they understand in their mother tongue they will be able to express it in English. (PLI2/08:00)

Her use of Hindi was translingual, often infused with English content language from texts (Obs. 13, 19) or English metalanguage for analysis (Obs. 9, 22, 25, 28, 31, 32), as in the following review of letter types:

EXTRACT 24: Dipika/Obs.28/29:50

T: *Ab ham* letter *likhte*, class *me. Kitne tarah ke* letter *likhte?*	T: *Now we write the* letter, *in* class. *How many types of* letter *do you write?*
SS: *Do.*	SS: *Two.*
T: *Do. Kaunse hota hai?*	T: *Two. Which ones?*
SS: Formal *aur* informal.	SS: Formal *and* informal.
T: Formal *aur* informal. *Dono ki* language *ek jaisi hoti hai kya?*	T: Formal *and* informal. *Do both have the same* language?
SS: *Nahi.*	SS: *No.*
T: *Nahi hoti.* Formal *me ham* request, kindly words use *karte, hai na? To ham ko thora sa* difficult *lagta hai na? Kyon lagte? Kyoki hamare rozmara ki bhasha nahi hai, hai na?* Oblige word *ata hai,* regards *ata hai, thik hai.* Consent word *ata hai.*	T: *No they don't. In* formal *ones we use the* words request, kindly, *don't we? So it sometimes feels a bit* difficult, *doesn't it? Why so? Because it's not in our everyday language, alright? There are* words *like* oblige, regards, *alright?* The word consent *is there.*

She only occasionally integrated English into her classroom language or task instructions, mainly in her more proficient classes, 10B and 9A (see extract 35).

As well as using Hindi to explain text content, grammar or lexis, she frequently used it to check understanding of instructions (Obs. 11), text content (Obs. 11, 13, 19, 28), and morphosyntax (Obs. 32).

7.5.2. Learners' languaging practice

Unlike two colleagues I observed twice each (NPTOs 25–28), who both accepted contributions from learners only in English, Dipika's focus on engagement, understanding and confidence building led to her teaching being L1-inclusive, encouraging learners to respond however possible, including in Hindi (see extract 29) or Marathi:

> See what happens, if children come up with answers, as it is they are very shy. They don't want to answer because they don't want to speak in English, so I motivate them to give their answers in any language which they wish. Even if they are ready to say in Marathi, I am ready to listen. (PLI4/14:12)

During whole class instruction, learner contributions were generally quite limited, including choral responses in Hindi, English or translingual (see extract 24). Nonetheless, it was notable that learners in her strongest classes often responded more in English, even when questions were posed in Hindi (e.g., Obs. 16, 28, 34).

Dipika made regular use of elicited translation, working both from English to Hindi, most common with lexical items from texts (e.g., century, legal, talkative; Obs. 11, 13, 28 respectively), and from Hindi to English, including eliciting translations of single words, short phrases and longer, collective brainstorms in whole class interaction (e.g., Obs. 18, 22, 24, 26):

EXTRACT 25: Dipika/Obs.26/15:40

T: Transport *hamare lie bahut upayogi hai, kaise likhenge?* Transport is? (eliciting)	T: Transport *for us is very useful, how to write?* Transport is? (eliciting)
S1: Transport is very	S1: Transport is very
S2: useful for us	S2: useful for us
S3: important us	S3: important us
T: Very useful, very important, very helpful, *jo apne dimag me ata hai.*	T: Very useful, very important, very helpful, *that comes to mind.*

On a number of occasions she was also observed to translate or paraphrase learners' L1 utterances into English herself (Obs. 16, 24, 29).

Because aural skills were not tested in the exam (and therefore not part of the school's focus) Dipika and her colleagues did little work to develop their learners' English-only speaking or listening ability. Occasional exceptions included both teacher-led (Obs. 31, 34) and groupwork (Obs. 1) discussions in English. When learners worked in groups, there was no expectation that they should speak English and conversations were Hindi-mainly, interspersed with both English and Marathi resources (Obs. 1, 2, 5, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 31).

7.6. Curriculum coverage and planning

7.6.1. Curriculum coverage

Schemes of work for each trimester were created by the larger school management society for each subject, and these were very exam-oriented, consistent with the school's primary focus on exam achievement. Only eight weeks into the academic year, three periods a day were taken up by "Unit one tests" for eight consecutive days. This made an already ambitious curriculum even more challenging for Dipika and her colleagues (ETI), limiting their personal choice to conduct more formative assessment. The tests were also used to evaluate teacher performance.

Dipika was usually allowed to keep her classes through the grades, and there was evidence that, despite the limited time available, she was training her learners in her new grade 8 class to think for themselves (Obs. 13, 20, PLI3, PLI4), asserting that until they got to her classes, they were used only to listening and copying (ETI, PLI1, PLI2), and rarely able to respond to or ask questions, or to do practice activities independently:

> They are not into the habit of finding the answers because ready-made answers have been given to them till seventh grade. (PLI3/03:00)

7.6.2. Planning

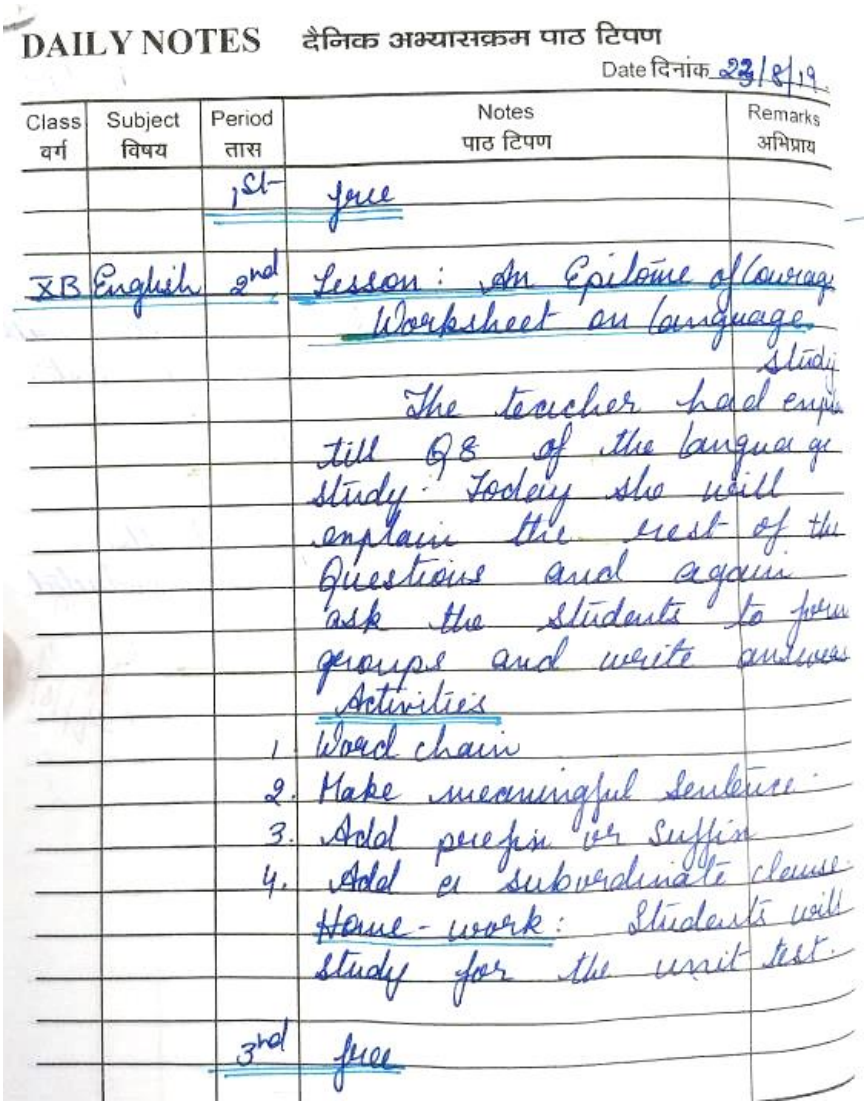
Unlike all other participant teachers in this study, Dipika was required by her school to hand in her "lesson notebook" at the start of the school day – evidence of the school's organisational standards. These notes included a short 2–3 paragraph plan for each lesson and homework (see Figure 20) that her teaching usually, but not always, followed (discussed

below). The lesson notes of other teachers observed were less detailed, most indicating only lesson topic and page.

While she avoided giving homework during the Unit 1 test period (see Figure 20), when she did provide it, it regularly included creative discovery tasks that encouraged learners to make brief use of their parents' mobile phones to research specific riddles or questions (Obs. 1, 6, 29, 33, 34). For example, to check the function of a cultural garment (Obs. 6), research a World Heritage site (Obs. 34), or draw pictures (Obs. 2), alongside more standard homework tasks, such as completing writing assignments (Obs. 33, 34) or workbook exercises (Obs. 30) started in class.

Figure 20

Example page from lesson notebook (Obs. 18, Gr. 10)



DAILY NOTES दैनिक अभ्यासक्रम पाठ टिपण

Date दिनांक 23/8/19

Class वर्ग	Subject विषय	Period तास	Notes पाठ टिपण	Remarks अभिप्राय
		1st	free	
XB	English	2nd	Lesson: An Epitome of Courage Worksheet on language study The teacher had explained till Q8 of the language study. Today she will explain the rest of the Questions and again ask the students to form groups and write answers Activities 1. Word chain 2. Make meaningful sentence 3. Add prefix or Suffix 4. Add a subordinate clause Home-work: Students will study for the unit test.	
		3rd	free	

7.7. Classroom practice

7.7.1. Lesson structure

Dipika exhibited high 'time on task' and brisk pace through lesson content throughout the observation period (Obs. 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 32), the latter justified due to a need for students to work fast in exams (PLI3b/03:45). She was punctual to class, and quick to begin on arrival (Obs. 11, 15, 19, 25, 28). She reduced time spent copying from the board (widespread in India; Padwad & Dixit, 2018) by giving instructions to only write key information (Obs. 11, 15, 32) and monitored learners' notetaking carefully (e.g., Obs. 15, 22).

Lessons often began with reviews of prior learning (Obs. 9, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 27, 28, 29, 32), and sometimes included recaps part-way through (Obs. 11, 13, 16, 19, 28, 32) and at the end (Obs. 3, 6, 8, 9, 13, 32). This included summaries and 'signposting' to ensure students were clear on what had been covered and what was coming, as well as brief formative checks of understanding (Obs. 9, 11, 13, 16, 19, 22, 28, 30, 32). The following example involves a quick mid-lesson review of the steps to writing 'as–as' similes, eliciting from the whole class:

EXTRACT 26: Dipika/Obs.16/21:20

T: *Kya karna tha samjha? Pahle* step *me hamne, kya kiya?* (points at board)	T: *Did you understand what to do? What did we do in the first* step*?* (points at board)
S1: *Nam.*	S1: *The name.*
T: *Nam likhe. Dusre* step *me kya kiya?*	T: *We wrote the name. In the second* step *what did we do?*
SS: Adjective *likhe.*	SS: *(We) wrote the* adjective.
T: Adjective *likhe. Tisre* step *me isko* as-as *lagaake* positive degree *banaya aur isko* simile *kahte hai. Kya kahte isko?*	T: *Wrote the* adjective. *In the third* step*, we added* as-as*, making the* positive degree*, and we called this a* simile. *What did we call it?*
SS: Simile.	SS: Simile.
T: *Hamne kitne kiye?*	T: *How many (steps) did we do?*
SS: Four. / *Char.*	SS: Four. / *Four.*
T: *Char. Baaki ke kaha karna hai aapko? Ghar me. Thik hai?*	T: *Four. And the rest, where do you have to do it? At home. Alright?*

7.7.2. Negotiation and improvisation

While it was not central to her practice, Dipika did sometimes negotiate lesson content choice or options with her learners (Obs. 13, 15, 19, 26, 32). This happened, for example, after an unexpected timetable change halved the lesson length, causing her to consult the learners on two possible lesson topics (she went with their preference):

EXTRACT 27: Dipika/Obs.19/01:30

T: *To yah mujhe batao ki ham log* lesson *ke sath* continue *kare, ki me kuch* sentence lesson *me se lekhar* board *par* explain *karu. Kaise karne?*	T: *So tell me if we should* continue *with the* lesson, *or should I write some* sentences *on the* board *and* explain *them. What should we do?*
S1: Lesson explain.	S1: Lesson explain.
T: Lesson explain *karu, ki* grammar *ke* sentence explain *karu. Kya?*	T: Explain the lesson, *or* explain the grammar *in some* sentences. *Which?*
(multiple students speak)	(multiple students speak)
T: Lesson *kitne log bol raha, to?* (the majority of students raise their hands).	T: *How many people want the* lesson, *then*? (the majority of students raise their hands).

On several occasions, Dipika reflected that she had not taught a lesson as planned (ETI, PLI1, PLI6), citing varied reasons, including her initial formative assessment of prior knowledge (e.g., Obs. 10), her awareness that engagement was waning (Obs. 28, PLI6), or that an activity was too challenging (Obs. 11):

> I had thought that I would take the first activity 'Strange Truth'… But then I thought as they can't relate to the word handicap itself, how will they give me different words for various disabilities? I would have to give them all the answers. So I decided it's better not to waste time on that and went straight into the lesson. (PLI1/05:30)

During her ETI she also mentioned that she may abandon an intended plan due to a disruption to the learning or her own personal "mindset" (ETI/13:00). Other contextual constraints, particularly the climate (noisy rain or stifling heat) would also prompt her to make such changes (e.g., Obs. 32).

7.7.3. Whole class teaching

The majority of Dipika's teaching involved "whole class interactive teaching" (Campbell et al., 2004a). Most commonly, this involved text interpretation (Obs. 2, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20,

28, 29, 34), but also grammar presentations, feedback to exercises (see below), and scaffolded 'walk-throughs' of exam writing tasks. During all of these, Dipika employed a number of strategies regularly to facilitate learning, including linking learning to learners' lives, scaffolding, regular checks of the meaning of low frequency lexis, and varied questioning and elicitation strategies.

She linked learning to students' lives and schemata in a number of ways (Obs. 1, 2, 5, 11, 19, 25, 28, 30, 32, 34, PLI1, ETI), including choosing a recent school event to brainstorm content for an example report (Obs. 15), eliciting personalised 'marker' sentences for grammar analysis (Obs. 32), and even by drawing analogies between creativity in Indian dance and creativity in Stephen Hawking's black hole theory (Obs. 19).

She frequently scaffolded cognitive development (Obs. 2, 5, 8, 11, 13, 16, 20, 22, 24, 26, 27, 30, 33, PLI5), both learners' processing of structurally complex sentences and sometimes their creativity and criticality (Obs. 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 27, 28, PLI6). In one lesson, she first checked, then built upon their understanding of "handicapped", eliciting examples of first physical, then cognitive disabilities. She then challenged them to decide whether they agreed with an alternative definition of handicapped in the textbook ("those who refuse to take up challenges"). Most agreed, but Dipika noticed one learner who didn't and encouraged him to explain:

EXTRACT 28: Dipika/Obs.11/7:00

T: *Aur kitne nahin bolte hai*? (One S raises hand) *Kyon nahin bolte beta*?	T: *And how many don't think so?* (One S raises hand) *Why not son?*
S1: Ma'am, handicapped *vah nahin hota jo sharir ka istemaal kar, par vah ki dusre ki madad nahin kar sakte.*	S1: Ma'am, handicapped *is not the one who cannot make use of the body, but the one who cannot help others.*
T: *Ha, to aap sahi bol rahe. Matlab* handicapped *vah nahin hota jo sharir ka istemaal nahin kar sakta hai.* Handicapped *vah to jo doosaron kee madad nahin kar sakata. Matlab sab kuch hone ke baad bhi, apne dimaag ka acche kamon ke lie prayog nahin kar sakta*. Very good. *Bara accha* example *diya.* (she and students applaud)	T: *Yes, you are right. It means* handicapped *is not the one that cannot use the body.* Handicapped *is the one who cannot help others. It means, after all, one who cannot make use of their mind for good work.* Very good. *You have given a very good* example. (she and students applaud)

She recalled this boy's "deep thinking" with visible pleasure in the subsequent interview (PLI1a/1:10).

Dipika was also careful to ensure low frequency lexical items were clarified, particularly during text interpretation (Obs. 9, 10, 11, 13, 19, 22, 28). She used a range of means to do this, including use of textbook glossary definitions, translating herself, eliciting translations from learners, and the use of synonyms and antonyms. Such lexical items were also frequently recycled later in the same lesson (e.g., Obs. 11, 13, 19, 28).

Dipika's varied questioning was perhaps the single most noticeable difference to other teachers observed in comparable contexts, who tended to ask closed questions only (NPTOs 25–28). Dipika asked both open and closed questions (Obs. 12, 13, 19, 22, 34), regularly checking understanding of text content (Obs. 9, 13, 19, 28, 34), taught concepts and instructions (Obs. 2, 7, 11, 32). Her questions focused on both lower- and higher-order thinking skills (Obs. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 22, 26, 28), and allowed opportunities for personalisation (Obs. 28, 32, 33), prediction (Obs. 11, 13) and checking of background schemata (Obs. 11, 19, 28, 34). Table 13 provides an illustrative sample of question types asked during one text interpretation lesson (Obs. 13) at Grade 8 (a story about a builder).

Table 13

Variety of question types asked by Dipika in one lesson (Obs. 13, Gr. 8)

Reviewing prior learning:	*Kya padha* lesson *me? Koi thore do, teen* line *me bata sakta mujhe?*	*What did we study in the (last)* lesson*? Who can tell me one or two* lines*?*
Noticing:	*Naati-pote ke lie, kaunsa shabd* use *kiya gya?*	*What word did he* use *for grandchildren?*
Building schemata:	*Matlab* design *kaun banata tha?*	*So who would have* designed *the house?*
Building metalanguage:	*'*Verb*' matlab kya hota hai?*	*So what does '*verb*' mean?*
Describing:	*Kaisa kaam kiya usne?*	*How did he do his work?*
Negotiating:	*Padhana chalu karne, ki* continue *karna?*	*Shall we read that again, or* continue*?*
Text comprehension:	*To abhi* mason *ne kya* decide *kiya hai?*	*So what did the* mason decide *to do?*
Checking instructions:	*Kya chiz ko* underline *karenge?*	*So which things are we going to* underline*?*
Empathising:	*Ab voh* mason *ko kaise laga hoga?*	*So how will the* mason *be feeling?*
Speculating:	*To usko kya hua hoga?*	*So what would have happened to him?*

Reflecting on learning:	*Isilie hamko is paath se kya sikh milte hai?*	*So what have we learnt in this lesson?*

Her questioning challenged learners across the ability spectrum (Obs. 7, 10, 13, 15, 22, 23, 30), sometimes bypassing the dominant hand-raisers (Obs. 13, 15, 19, 31), both to check understanding and to ensure learners remained attentive. She built the confidence of weaker learners purposefully (PLI5), as in the following example, from a lesson on similes in which she both elicited appropriate answers in Hindi, and scaffolded these to English sensitively:

EXTRACT 29: Dipika/Obs.16/18:20

T: *Ab* dinosaur *ki visheshta, yaha se koi bataega, pahle tin isme se.* (points at three desks who have been quiet) Dinosaur *ke bare me dekho.* Big as a dinosaur, *batao, aur* dinosaur *kya hota hai? Kya visheshta usme?* (to other SS who want to answer) Please! *Yah teen* line *me se batao.* (silence) *Batana uski visheshan batao.* (silence) *Hindi me bolo. Yah teen* line *me se* dinosaur *ke visheshtaen batao, Hindi me.*	T: *Now, the characteristics of* dinosaurs, *from here someone will tell, first from these three* (rows). (points at three desks who have been quiet) *About* dinosaur, *see.* Big as a dinosaur, *tell me, and what else? What are its characteristics?* (to other SS who want to answer) Please! *Someone from these three rows tell me.* (silence) *Tell me an adjective.* (silence) *Speak in Hindi. From these three* lines, *tell us a characteristic of* dinosaurs, *in Hindi.*
S1: (standing) Danger *rahta.*	S1: (standing) *It makes* danger.
T: Danger *rahta na, to kya bolo* English *me?*	T: *It makes* danger, *so how to say in* English?
S1: Dangerous.	S1: Dangerous.
T: Dangerous. Adjective, *kya ho jaega?*	T: Dangerous. *What* adjective *goes there?*
SS: Dangerous.	SS: Dangerous.
T: Very good. *Baitho.* (motions for S1 to sit down).	T: Very good. *Sit down.* (motions for S1 to sit down).

On occasion, her elicitation also included examples of "safe talk" (Chick, 1996), in which she raised her intonation towards the end of sentences and paused for learners to complete (Obs. 11, 13, 18, 19, 28), for example, to check background knowledge:

EXTRACT 30: Dipika/Obs.19/17:10

T: US *ka* full form USA. United States of…?	T: Full form *of* US *is* USA. United States of…?
T & SS: America.	T & SS: America.
T: *To* America *jo mahadvep hai.*	T: *So* America *is a continent.*

Other interesting aspects to her whole class teaching include her highly structured approach to teaching exam writing skills (Obs. 21, 22, 25, 26, 27), in which she led students through example answers, eliciting and boarding possible sentences:

EXTRACT 31: Dipika/Obs.26/16:50	
T: *Abhee pahla* sentence *batao mujhe, kya likha tha aapane? Kya socha likhane ka pahala?* (T goes to board) *Kaun bataenge?*	T: *Now tell me the first* sentence, *what did you write? What did you think of writing first?* (T goes to board) *Who will tell me?*
SS (most): There are three different types of transport.	SS (most): There are three different types of transport.
T: There are?	T: There are?
SS: different types / modes of transport.	SS: different types / modes of transport.
T: There are modes of transport. *Aur uske baad kya socha tha likhe? Kaun bataega?* Transport is?	T: There are modes of transport. *And after that what did you think to write? Who will tell?* Transport is?
SS: Very useful for us.	SS: Very useful for us.
T: (T writes this) Is very	T: (T writes this) Is very
SS: useful for us.	SS: useful for us.
T: *Ab koee isake aage, jin logon ko likhane aata hai, vah aur apana* add *kar sakte hai.*	T: *Now next to this, anyone who comes to write, they can* add *more.*

This was sometimes followed by peer-supported writing work, in which learners worked on individual texts, yet were encouraged to discuss together, or check what their partner had written (e.g., Obs. 22).

A number of technical skills were also important elements in her whole class teaching, including her impressive voice projection and her fast, yet clear and well-organised boardwork (e.g., Obs. 13, 30, 32).

7.7.4. Activities

While whole class interactive teaching was probably Dipika's most dominant interaction pattern, she also provided activity work to her students in the majority of lessons. These were most commonly exam tasks, often from the supplementary workbooks (Obs. 4, 6, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, 33), but also textbook activities (Obs. 2, 3, 5, 9, 14, 19, 20, 29), improvised tasks and occasional games (Obs. 6, 10, 12, 13, 30, 31) and the use of her own exam practice worksheets (Obs. 15, 18, 23, 24). Activity types included text writing,

reading comprehension (e.g., true/false), exercise completion and sentence transformations. In some lessons, these would follow whole-class teaching episodes; other lessons involved mainly practice activities through a differentiated, briskly paced, almost conveyor-belt approach, particularly in her higher achieving classes (Obs. 8, 16, 17, 31, 33). After setting them off working on an activity, she would monitor seatwork. As she noticed faster learners finishing, she'd return to the front to elicit feedback to the board, and then set a new activity to keep the stronger learners busy, while still leaving the answers of previous exercises available for those who were working more slowly.

Dipika made use of both individual and collaborative learning when students were working on activities. Most often, students worked on activities individually, which she justified due to their need to work individually during exams (PLI3b/01:15), but also mentioning that collaborative learning is frowned upon by both the management and other teachers, due to the noise it generated and the perception that it often led to disruptive behaviour (FI/fieldnotes, p. 156). However, she also included regular pairwork and groupwork activities, both formally (when she encouraged collaboration) and informally "when they can just ask someone to help them" if needed (PLI3b/00:51). Formal pair or groupwork was observed in 8 of 34 lessons observed, and informal in a further seven. The most commonly used interaction pattern for collaborative learning was small, discrete desk groups where students who shared a desk worked together on an activity. Collaborative learning was more common in her higher-achieving grade 10 class, and less common in her lower grade classes, where she perceived the need to ease them gently into groupwork, to ensure peer support was productive:

> See, in eighth standard, if they work in a group, one out of three on the desk knows how to do it, so he or she will help the others to do it … [but] the person who finds the answer himself is not clear how he has found the answer, he cannot or she cannot explain it to them … By ninth standard it is a bit different because by practice they have come to know how to link the answers, and two from a table can do it, so it becomes easier for the third one to try and understand if he watches both of them doing the same thing … because they are into this practice for a year. (PLI3a/11:30)

This provision of peer support was her primary justification for using collaborative learning, particularly in large classes, where she observed "I know that I can't reach each and every individual because the classes are very big" (PLI3a/12:10).

7.7.5. Monitoring

During activity work, Dipika performed a number of active monitoring roles that she noted during her espoused theories interview (ETI/16:30): controller and organiser, checking that learners were working on task and appropriately (Obs. 13, 15, 22); tutor, providing individual support to learners and groups (Obs. 13, 15, 22, 23); observer and assessor (Obs. 15, 16), when she noticed "where ideas are coming [from]", and adjusted her teaching accordingly (ETI/17:35). Most obvious of these roles was tutoring, when she would offer mediation and correction (Obs. 13, 15, 22), including elicited self- and peer-correction:

EXTRACT 32: Dipika/Obs.15/10:30

T: (looks at S1's notebook, spots a mistake, points at it and reads an exclamatory statement from the question paper) 'What a wonderful' (emphasising 'a', then points at S1's notebook)	T: (looks at S1's notebook, spots a mistake, points at it and reads an exclamatory statement from the question paper) 'What a wonderful' (emphasising 'a', then points at S1's notebook)
S2: (to S1) 'a' *vala hai.*	S2: (to S1) *There's an* 'a' *here.*
T: 'a' *kaha hai?* (S1 corrects) *Ab agar* 'What' *ke sath hi rahta, to* exclamation *rahta ya* question mark *rahta*?	T: 'a' *where is it?* (S1 corrects) *Now if it is with* 'What' here, *then is there an* exclamation *mark or a* question mark *there*?
S1: Question mark.	S1: Question mark.
T: Question mark *rahta*? Question? (points at text, implying where?)	T: *There's a* question mark? Question? (points at text, implying 'where?')
S2: Exclamation mark.	S2: Exclamation mark.
S1: Exclamation mark. (smiling and self-correcting)	S1: Exclamation mark. (smiling and self-correcting)
T: *Phir ek* simple mistake *ho dekho, kya ho gaya, ek* mark *gaya, hai na?*	T: *After one* simple mistake *that I've seen, what happens? One* mark *has gone?*

During this lesson, she provided tuition to 14 of 26 groups during only 9 minutes, and interacted directly with every group on at least one occasion, sometimes also eliciting self-correction, and providing praise as she did (Obs. 15/32:35).

However, when she noticed a common error, she would often provide ongoing observational feedback (as Vinay did) to the whole class in a louder voice (Obs. 10, 15, 16, 18, 22, 25, 26, 27, 33). For example, she noticed that several were using the wrong pronoun in a writing task and suggested:

EXTRACT 33: Dipika/Obs.26/24:00	
T: Transport *ke lie,* it use *karenge.* He, she, they, them *nahi karenge*.	T: *For* transport use it. He, she, they, them *don't use*.

7.7.6. Feedback to activities

Dipika generally conducted feedback to activities at a brisk pace, especially when they were relatively easy (Obs. 15, 16, 21):

EXTRACT 34: Dipika/Obs.16/06:38
T: *Chelo*. [*Let's go.*] Ready with the answers?
SS: Yes.
T: Big?
SS: Dinosaur.
T: Fearless?
SS: Tiger.
T: Dry?
SS: Desert.
T: Warm.
SS: Toast.
T: Done?
SS: Yes.
T: Now the next one.

She almost always elicited answers (Obs. 13, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 28, 31), sometimes nominating students herself (Obs. 31), or allowing choral responses, but more often allowing volunteers with hands raised to respond, usually praising correct answers, and occasionally eliciting peer (e.g., Obs. 13) or self-correction (Obs. 15, 26). When a task was more challenging, she used the board to write either answers or errors made by learners, sometimes also providing responsive clarification (e.g., Obs. 13, 15). On several occasions, at the end of feedback, she would provide a global summary of the area in question, including parts of speech (Obs. 13), punctuation marks (Obs. 15), and exam-specific advice (Obs. 15). The following extract illustrates a number of the above features, including nomination, self-evaluation, praise, and responsive clarification:

EXTRACT 35: Dipika/Obs.15/16:30	
T: Ready? *Shru kare?*	T: Ready? Shall we start?
SS: *Ha.* / Yes.	SS: *Yes.* / Yes.
T: First *vala. Me jisko puchungi vah ko* chorus *koi bhi* answers *nahi dega. Aur* you are going to tick your answers. *Aap apne* answers tick *karenge agar* correct *hai, to. Thik hai?* Everyone has done their spellings?	T: First *one. Whomever I ask, I don't want any* answers *to be given in* chorus. *And* you are going to tick your answers. *You give a* tick *to your own* answers *if they are* correct. *OK?* Everyone has done their spellings?
SS: Yes.	SS: Yes.
T: Yes. *Aap* (selects S1 randomly from near back) *bolo* spellings. *Ha. Jo se sab* spellings *bolo, pahle vala kya*? 'G-R'?	T: Yes. *You* (selects S1 randomly from near back) *tell the* spellings. *Yes. Say all of the* spellings. *First one is what?* 'G-R'?
S1: 'E-A-T'.	S1: 'E-A-T'.
T: Very good. G-R-E-A-T. *Ek jagah yaha par kahin par kisi ne* 'G-R-A-T-E' *kara hai.* Someone has written 'G-R-A-T-E'. It is not the word which is given there. *Yaha* word *ko badal nahi sakte ho.* 'G-R-E-A-T' *hoga, thik hai?* Correction *karenge.* Second word?	T: Very good. G-R-E-A-T. *Somewhere there someone has written* 'G-R-A-T-E'. Someone has written 'G-R-A-T-E'. It is not the word which is given there. *That* word *you cannot change. It's* 'G-R-E-A-T', *OK? Make a* correction. Second word?

7.7.7. Other aspects of Dipika's classroom practice

While text interpretation was common, opportunities for silent reading were also noted on several occasions (Obs. 7, 8, 16, 21, 31, 33), usually while she needed time to write on the board, with basic comprehension or underlining tasks sometimes provided. Choral pronunciation drills were also observed on several occasions, usually of items of lexis (Obs. 9), morals and sayings (Obs. 14, 19), but also of whole poems on two occasions (Obs. 6, 30), although rote memorisation practices were not observed. Dipika was never observed to mark students' notebooks in class (quite common in India), noting that she collected these in to provide correction.

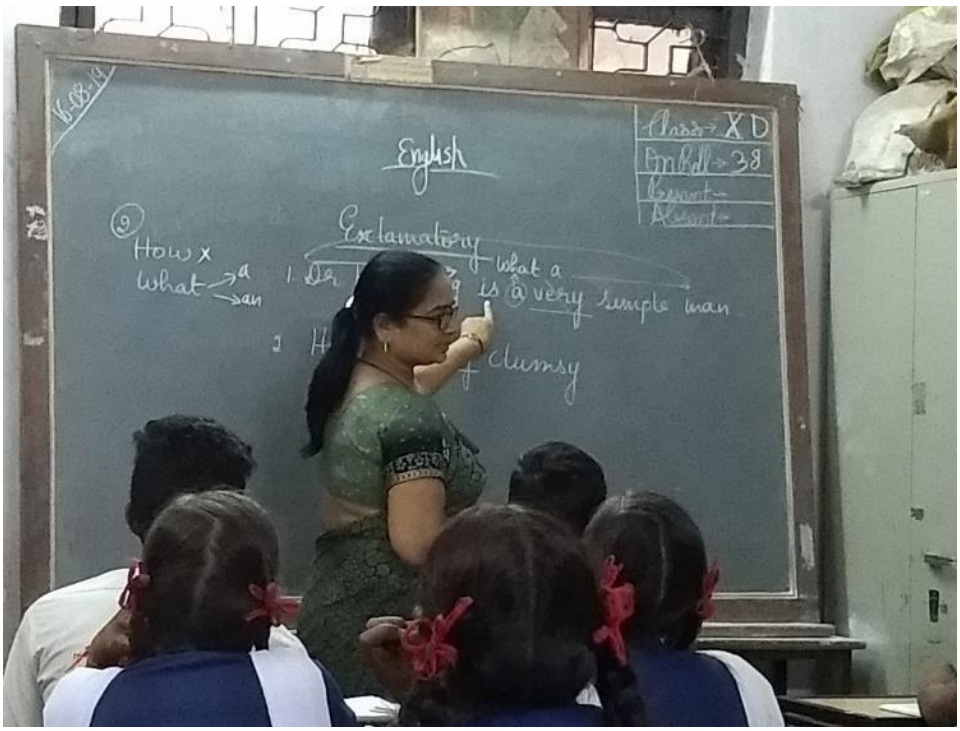
7.8. Subject knowledge and PCK

Dipika's English language proficiency is noticeably higher than many Indian secondary teachers, particularly her spoken fluency (C2), likely due to her own English-medium

education. Evidence of her extensive PCK includes her ability to recall knowledge of aspects of grammar and lexis responsive to her learners' needs (e.g., Obs. 8, 15, 26, 30, 32). She was able to provide improvised, interactive presentations (e.g., Obs. 8, 15, 26), or to spot and scaffold improvement of a weak answer or elicited translation (e.g., Obs. 16). For example, a rapid unplanned review of question forms during feedback (Obs. 15) or a review of exclamatory sentences when she found out that the learners did not know how to form them (Obs. 8; see Figure 21). Another example of Dipika's extensive PCK is the original method she had developed to help learners remember differences between first, second and third person conjugations (Obs. 32). Also notable in this regard was her ability to think of exam-type questions rapidly, such as true/false statements to check comprehension of a text (Obs. 31). She had developed her own materials for such exam practice (e.g., Obs. 15), which she also shared with others through a local English teachers' club she had co-founded).

Figure 21

Improvised review of exclamatory sentences (Obs. 8, Gr. 10)



7.9. Reflection

During post-lesson interviews, Dipika displayed the ability to identify multiple aims to her lessons (PLI1, PLI5), and was often quite critical in her self-evaluation (PLI1, PLI2, PLI4).

At times, she was not satisfied either with her own performance, or that of her learners, even if it was due to factors beyond her, or their immediate control (PLI1, PLI4, PLI6). As such, her self-awareness and critical reflection were well developed, and it was clear she set high goals for herself, illustrated in the following reflection after a lesson with her new grade 8 class, with whom she was conducting training in more autonomous reading practices:

> It was not satisfactory. I'm never satisfied with such lessons, and I know that I have to put up with such lessons for six months … a lot of practice is needed there, for which I am ready. Maybe they will start doing it at the end of the session [trimester]. (PLI4/01:50)

While she had difficulty recalling the names of some learners (she had 243 enrolled students at the time), she was nonetheless able to discuss individual learners' performance in considerable detail, both higher and lower achievers, without my needing to prompt for the latter (e.g., PLI1, PLI6).

Despite her frequent criticality, Dipika nonetheless showed confidence in herself, and her teaching approach. During our discussion of the observer effect, she reiterated her conviction to avoid altering her practice for my benefit, even though this caused her some concern regarding the extent of Hindi use:

> One thing which hurt me while you were in the class is that I was not able to speak English with the students. And I thought that my speaking a lot of Hindi became a hindrance in your research … But I didn't want to change because you were there. This is what I am, and even if you are … not there, or even if the education officer is there, who can just suspend me for teaching in Hindi, I am not going to change for that, because at the end of the day, I am there only for my students. (ETI/1:11:38)

This conviction in doing something that she was certain was beneficial to the learners, yet might have been detrimental to her own employment, speaks of Dipika's necessarily strong belief in her approach. Similar concerns also arose when she discussed her role as a teacher educator, evidence that at the heart of her professional practice, she felt a sense of hypocrisy that she was not practising what she was preaching to others:

> Sometimes I feel guilty about [teaching in Hindi] … when I take trainings … I give them the points that yes, this language can be taught very easily, and here in my school itself I am a teacher who doesn't teach in English, so that thing hurts me a lot. (ETI/24:00)

7.10. Professionalism

While she observed that the early years of her career (1993–1997) involved a "very slow learning process" (LHIb/13:44), Dipika has since benefitted from a number of training opportunities. She felt strongly that she had learnt from several of these, including a 21-day residential workshop in 2000 that she felt "brought about a flood change in the teaching scenario of Maharashtra" (LHIb/17:30):

> For the first time we knew the importance of rhymes and poems in the syllabus. We knew the importance of acting out something in the class. (LHIb/16:00)

She was able to relate these early training programmes to her recollections of her own education, particularly the importance of 'activities':

> Till 2003 the teachers didn't know what activities were and how activities should be done in the class. I'd been to a totally different school, ICSE board. I used to take activities and I knew what activities were, what clear learning was… (LHIb/17:20)

After devoting time to raising her children, she began to attend training events again from 2008, mentioning a course at Yashida Training Institute, when she learnt about constructivism and collaborative learning that seemed particularly influential in her transformation to teacher educator. Since completing her MA in 2012, she has focused more on helping others' development:

> When I was a new teacher I used to get a lot of support but now it is (laughs) the other way round! Now they want support from me, for everything they do. (ETI/49:40)

She has worked as a trainer on a number of state-level initiatives to improve the quality of English language teaching (CHESS, ELIPS, TEJAS: LHI), but also on personal initiatives, such as mentoring new teachers in her school, and co-founding a teacher development group in her city, through which she develops and shares exam practice materials with colleagues (ETI). Despite this industriousness, Dipika noted twice (LHI, ETI) that she tended to avoid the limelight of recognition offered by the numerous competitive teaching awards in India:

> What is the use of such awards if the kids don't recognise you as a good teacher? ... For me, if ten of my students come and say you've brought a positive change in our life, I have received my recognition. (ETI/56:00)

She noted that she applied to participate in my research due in part to the personal recommendation of a prominent teacher educator that she trusted:

> I wanted to see what research is in reality and as it came from [name] sir, I knew that it was going to be authentic. (ETI/57:45)

Like most of the teachers in this study, she noted that she had never been observed in her classroom.

7.11. Observer reflexivity

7.11.1. Reactivity to my presence

Dipika's resolve to show me who she was as a teacher was consistent with other evidence of a comparatively weak observer effect on her practice. While we both noticed small changes in her learners' behaviour as they got used to my presence in the class, there appeared to be very little change in her general teaching practice from the first to the 34th lesson observed. She was more focused on the teaching itself:

> As soon as I start teaching and get into it, I forget you are there. (ETI/1:12:08)

The main change she perceived in her learners due to my presence was a positive one, a greater willingness to participate in lessons:

> The students are answering in a chorus, rather than raising their hands. Maybe it's because you are there. (PLI2/03:00)

Despite Dipika's awareness that it took up to five observations per class before learners got used to my presence (PLI5/26:30), I noticed little change in their behaviour, excluding the initial interest in me as a foreigner and in my video and audio recording technology.

7.11.2. Personal critical reflections on aspects of Dipika's teaching

Dipika's urban context, the constraints of her strictly-managed school and the challenges she faced there contrast markedly with those of Vinay. It should not be a surprise, therefore, that so did her beliefs and her classroom practice, these having evolved within this one school since she started teaching in 1993 – Dipika's expertise was starkly different to Vinay's.

Dipika requested "feedback" on her teaching from me at the end of my visit. As well as providing praise and understanding of her significant contextual constraints, I made several tentative suggestions to help her address some of the challenges she faced. She listened eagerly, each time pointing out potential problems with my suggestions, without doing so defensively. For example, I suggested that she might gradually increase the use of English as a classroom language. She explained that she had tried this, but her students had objected and "implored" her to use more Hindi. After this discussion, I wrote in my field notes "I learnt more than she did" (p. 156), further evidence of the situated wisdom of practice that underpins her teaching.

Nonetheless, the following critical concerns remain in my evaluation of her practice, some of which we discussed in the final interview. Firstly, on occasion, I feel Dipika got carried away with some of the anecdotes that she enjoyed telling, mainly in Hindi. While the students clearly enjoyed them, this remains an outstanding criticism for someone whose primary focus was, by her own assessment, to teach them English. Secondly, probably as a result of her brisk pace, I noticed occasions when she did not display sufficient wait time after asking questions (e.g., Obs. 16, 28, 32; see extract 26). Finally, I feel that Dipika sometimes underestimated the ability of her lower achieving classes to engage in effective collaborative learning. While less capable teachers might struggle to manage the off-task behaviour likely in large classes, I suspect that she could train them to work together well with little difficulty, given her impressive behaviour management skills.

7.11.3. Respondent validation

Dipika provided feedback on this chapter via a phone call, including the critique above. After correcting two minor factual errors (one a transcription error, the other regarding a qualification), her response was one of clear satisfaction with what I had written:

> So everything else, I agree with it and I find it is very good, whatever description is there. I read it twice, and I'm satisfied with it. In fact I am happy with it (laughs). (RV/5:55)

She was impressed by the level of my understanding of Hindi in the classroom:

> Whatever I was trying to tell the students, you could translate it correctly in English, so that is very good. (RV/5:30)

She was particularly interested in the Personal critical reflections section above and wanted to make some changes in her teaching based on her perception of the implications of this section, specifically to "see whether I can teach them spoken English" (RV/06:50). She also agreed with my observations in 11.1 (Reactivity to my presence), particularly regarding her learners' reactivity: "I find it interesting that whatever you have written was there, in fact, in my class" (RV/08:45).

Chapter 8. Case description 3: Nurjahan

8.1. Context

8.1.1. School context

Nurjahan works in a large (c. 1000 students), government-aided, secondary school in a small coastal town in Maharashtra. It provides both Marathi-medium and semi-English-medium education, the latter in the higher achieving classes within the streaming system used. The school has a good reputation in the community, where common professions among learners' parents include fishing, retail, casual labour and farming, with an increasing number also working in the burgeoning tourism industry. Approximately 35% of her learners are from disadvantaged backgrounds (5% SC/ST; 30% OBC). The school is well equipped, with a staffed library, functioning laboratories and computer rooms, and several classes with functioning data projectors.

While the school also includes primary grades, a number of new learners join at secondary level from other schools and vary in their prior academic attainment. Some have studied English in Marathi-medium classes and others in English-medium, meaning that they vary greatly in their English proficiency profiles, particularly speaking and listening skills. Her observed class sizes averaged 43 students.

During the time of my visit, Nurjahan was teaching English to classes 5A (primary), 8C, 9C and 10C, in a streaming system where 'A' is the highest performing class, and 'C' the lowest at each grade. Decisions regarding who teaches which classes are made by senior staff, who often assigned themselves the A and B classes. As Nur was a comparatively recent arrival, she taught mainly 'C' classes, where lower levels of motivation, self-esteem, and behavioural challenges were more likely. As I was walking to my first observation of her home class, I met another teacher, who, upon hearing the name 8C, remarked: "Oh, the naughty class!" (Field notes, p. 5).

8.1.2. Personal background

Nurjahan was raised "as an only child" (LHI/28:15) by her maternal grandparents (her parents and sister lived in a different town) within a family of teachers. While some Muslim families did not consider education of female offspring a priority at that time (the 1990s), hers did:

> Thankfully, from both my paternal side and my maternal side … girls are considered very special in our family so there was nothing like giving only some limited education and all. In fact we were given every kind of freedom we needed, and our family wanted us to learn. (LHI/07:15)

Her maternal uncle was the principal of the local high school and was keen on ensuring she developed her literacy and knowledge:

> …he has always told me, don't go only for the [text]book, go for extra reading. And today also he keeps telling me, read these books, watch that film or keep trying to gain more knowledge. (LHI/10:40)

Nurjahan did well at school, taking part in competitions and debates, and winning prizes. Her family expected her to become a "professor", and she remembered roleplaying being a teacher and pretending that her grandparents or even the family pets were her students. After harbouring brief ambitions to be a lawyer at secondary level, she completed first a BA, then an MA, both in English literature, and after a brief spell teaching locally she enrolled on her BEd, revealing a sense of fate in her career choice:

> …there I thought of becoming a teacher, and somehow, maybe because my family was also telling me, and there was some intrinsic passion in me, of my childhood that I used to teach a lot … so somehow that feeling became prominent and my family supported me. Actually I can say that it was my family's dream, as well. (LHI 24:50)

This was her first time studying away from home, and further built her autonomy as a learner and young adult:

> …during these years I developed my own style of study, having my own notes and all, reading reference materials and then taking down my notes. (LHI/23:23)

She describes it as "an amazing year", and received the trophy for "best student teacher" (LHI/27:45). While she experienced some gender prejudice in her attempts to find work, her B.Ed. professor helped her to secure an initial post in a private college, and then an interview for a position in her current school. She was selected out of 40 applicants after a

demonstration lesson, and started work there in 2011. She soon began attending teacher training workshops, and three years later was chosen to become a trainer on a British Council project, since when her career as a teacher educator has developed rapidly (see 8.10).

8.2. Key beliefs

8.2.1. Building learners' self-esteem

Nurjahan sees her learners' backgrounds as the "biggest challenge" she faces, especially their parents, who may not recognise the importance of their education:

> [the learners] carry many pressures, they have many burdens, and there are many issues that they sometimes cannot express very well … but many times I've seen that when we try to talk to them, when we share a helping hand, that is, we are there for you, it makes a big change. (FI/04:00)

As a result, she believed strongly in the importance of developing their self-esteem:

> If I value myself, then I'll see what's good inside me. If I learn to hate myself, if teachers are giving impression that I am bad at studies, so I can't become anything in my life, so I will have only negative qualities. (ETI/11:30)

This was particularly important given that many of her C-stream learners were used to failure and negative reinforcement, even from their own parents:

> I had a girl who used to cut her hand [shows wrist] and I asked her why? So she said because my parents keep telling me: 'It's better that you die. You are a trouble for us.' So she was getting a feeling that she is of no use to anybody. (ETI/49:20)

She felt strongly that issues of labelling and perception were to blame here, noting "we shouldn't label them as slow learners", and adding:

> We don't believe in their strengths. We always think that unless we teach them they cannot learn, but that's not true. (LHI/55:30)

8.2.2. Starting at the learners' level and "raising them up"

Her belief in developing learners' self-esteem linked closely to her conviction in the importance of tailoring learning to their ability level, preferences, and background schemata

to build confidence and "raise them up", hinting towards a belief in setting more ambitious standards for her learners, despite their challenges:

> We have to come down to the learners' level … we have to consider their preferences. Suppose that the things we are teaching them are too hard, then we have to make them easier for them to understand, relating it to their lives, using examples from their lives, but at the same time, I think sticking all the time to their level isn't a good idea, we also have to try to raise them up. (ETI/07:40)

However, the strong exam focus in her school made this difficult, putting pressure on teachers to complete the syllabus early and begin exam preparation, thereby "kill[ing] their creativity" (ETI/10:35). Despite her intention to nurture this creativity, she herself was also constrained by—and evaluated through—this narrow exam focus:

> Instead of considering your values directly the progress in exams will be considered, but the changes you are trying to bring in students, nobody will look at that. (ETI/31:30)

8.2.3. Developing life skills and learner autonomy

In contrast to this narrow academic focus at her school, Nurjahan believed in developing skills that would serve her learners for the rest of their lives, trying hard to make them see beyond the exams and the curriculum to raise awareness of the wider opportunities that English literacy may bring:

> I keep telling my learners also that our aim is not only this textbook, but I want to make you able to read and understand so that in the later life also you will be able readers. (PLI2/14:20)

The pathway to this goal, she believed, was through "giving them autonomy" (FI/05:12) and independence of thought, both for their academic studies and future lives:

> When they know the meanings of words, it becomes easier for them to analyse or understand any text. They interpret it on their own instead of depending on the teacher, so they become independent thinkers. (PLI5/05:45)

Having grown up as an only child, she had learnt to "do on your own" and to study independently as a young adult (LHI/28:30), a likely influence on her strong belief in both building self-esteem and learner autonomy.

8.3. Key features

8.3.1. Building learners' self-esteem

Consistent with her beliefs, Nurjahan was regularly observed building her learners' self-esteem, both through the frequent positive reinforcement and encouragement she provided and through the messages she conveyed more implicitly in her teaching. This included her belief that everyone has strengths and weaknesses ("everybody has got some quality in them … everybody is special"; ETI/11:05) and her use of metaphors on more than one occasion to show that success is possible in adversity:

EXTRACT 36: Nurjahan/Obs.23/04:50

T: *Mhnje jar ata dagadamadhye zada fulu shaktat, tar mehnat kelyane kay hou shakta? Pratyek goshta sadhya hou shakte. Barobar?*	T: *I mean, if plants can grow in the rocks, what can happen? Everything can be achieved. Right?*

8.3.2. Negotiating with her learners

Nurjahan built close relationships of trust with her learners (see 8.4), enabling her to offer agency to them in class by negotiating both what they would do, and how. She would sometimes negotiate the lesson focus, frequently negotiate how activities are done (individually or in groups), how feedback is conducted, or what homework task they would do. She perceived that this negotiation was an important part of developing their autonomy:

> JA: Tell me a bit about why you do the negotiating?
>
> I think that's, like, giving them autonomy. Because if I only focus, or if I only think about my choices, it won't be a good idea … So they are considered important. If they feel the teacher is preferring our choices then they feel good. (PLI4/13:00)

8.3.3. Developing independent reading skills

Nurjahan had a systematic approach to developing her learners' reading skills, influenced in part by British Council training (PLI, ETI), yet also involving her own additions, including, for example, a "vocabulary quest" game (see 8.7.3). After pre-teaching key vocabulary from the text bilingually, her learners would first read individually, and then work collaboratively

on text comprehension activities, followed by detailed feedback. She broke the long, challenging texts found in the textbooks into “smaller chunks” (PLI2/06:10), usually splitting them between several lessons, providing several comprehension tasks that gradually increased in difficulty until she was satisfied that her learners had a thorough understanding of the text.

8.3.4. Active monitoring of learner activities

Nurjahan’s teaching involved regular independent learner activities. As her learners worked—usually collaboratively—on these activities, Nurjahan monitored briskly, able to keep the class on task while providing individualised support; on one occasion she gave feedback to 20 individuals in 3 minutes (Obs. 31/15:40–18:20). Such tutoring often involved mediation, scaffolding and modelling, and was also differentiated. Her monitoring was regularly punctuated by ongoing observational feedback to the whole class, as she provided reminders and useful feedback in a louder voice. Her observations while monitoring would also inform how she would conduct whole class feedback to the activity, thus constituting informal formative assessment (PLI5).

8.3.5. Diverse differentiation strategies

Nurjahan demonstrated a range of techniques that enabled her to differentiate effectively amongst learners of widely differing abilities in her classes. These included language differentiation (encouraging Marathi from less able learners, but expecting English from more able ones), her regular use of extension tasks for faster finishers, her tutoring strategies while monitoring seatwork and specific techniques used during whole-class feedback, such as calling on less able learners to respond when she knew they had the right answer.

8.4. Interpersonal practice

8.4.1. Relationships

Nurjahan’s close relationship with her learners was a central feature of her practice; “love from my kids” (LHI/01:14:20) was specified on two occasions when asked about her motivation. She saw this relationship as central to developing their self-esteem:

> We need to have a strong emotional bond with our learners. That way, they will learn to respect themselves and try to become a good person. (ETI/49:00)

She frequently stressed the importance of "knowing" learners as individuals in order to develop meaningful relationships with them: "You need to know your learners first, you need to know their needs, their levels, their interests" (ETI/51:40). She knew and frequently used the first names of all her 190 learners, noting that this helps them to "feel that the teacher loves them or cares for them" (FI/05:50).

Positive reinforcement was observed regularly in every lesson, both to individuals and the whole class, often with specific points praised:

EXTRACT 37: Nurjahan/Obs.14/17:30

T: Yeah, if there is no pollution. Good one. Very nice answers! OK. Can we move to the next activity? *Tumace uttara masta hotya!* [*Your answers were superb!*] Very good. I'm really happy with it. Now come to page fifty-six.

She frequently encouraged them to believe in their own ability and opinions:

EXTRACT 38: Nurjahan/Obs.29/18:40

T: Yash try to discuss, see, everybody is discussing. *Tumacha mat ithe mahattvaca ahe. Barobar ani cuka uttara nahi, tumhala kaya vatatanya te sanga ekamekanna.*	T: Yash, try to discuss, see, everybody is discussing. *Your opinions matter here. No right or wrong answer, tell each other what you think.*

She built confidence among weaker learners by spotting their correct answers while monitoring, and then encouraging them to provide answers during whole-class feedback, when she would also encourage classmates to praise contributions:

EXTRACT 39: Nurjahan/Obs.29/31:00

S1: If he is really good (x), I will take him to my school and request my school has him as a music teacher so that we can enjoy his melodies and voice.

T: Wow! This is a really good idea. Shatadi says if his voice is good then we can take into our school, right, and then we can ask the headmaster to appoint him as a music teacher, and then he or she can get a job, and we will get a music teacher. Isn't it a good idea? Idea *cangali ahe ki nahi?* [*Is the* idea *good or not?*]

SS: Yes.

T: Yes very nice ideas.

Fairness also seemed to be important, and was sometimes made explicit. Here she makes her nomination rationale clear to her learners:

EXTRACT 40: Nurjahan/Obs.21/11:50
T: OK, so what were the effects of war on Trojans and Greeks? Who would like to start first? (several hands go up) Er I think three of you got the chance in the last activity so let's start with Rahul first, then I'll come back to you. Yes, Rahul.

Her emotions were sometimes evident, including both when students did well ("*Are va?* [So quick?]"; Obs. 21/34:20), and when lessons did not go as well as planned (e.g., PLI4), or when learners had not done required homework. She was also willing to apologise for occasional mistakes and oversights (Obs. 17, 21, 24, 25):

EXTRACT 41: Nurjahan/Obs.21/1:09:00
S1: Madam, (inaudible) T: Yes, *haa* [*yes*], you have to complete three activities. I'm sorry, I forgot it.

Rapport was further bolstered by regular humorous moments (Obs. 13, 14, 19, 22, 25, 26, 27); jokes were never observed to be made at learners' expense, but typically related to lesson content or language play (e.g., Obs. 13, 19). It was notable that four of the learner focus groups in her home class indicated her sense of humour as the most important attribute of a good teacher during a focus group task, sometimes naming Nurjahan, even though they were asked not to mention teacher names:

> My favourite teacher is Naik Madam. She is very joking teacher.
>
> (8C Focus Group: Open Writing Task)

8.4.2. Behaviour management

More behaviour management challenges were observed in lessons of teachers who taught C stream classes than those who taught A and B streams at Nurjahan's school (NPTOs 29–32). Several of her learners displayed the features of specific SENs (e.g., ADHD), but there were also, on average, lower levels of engagement, and a higher likelihood of off-task behaviour among the male learners in grades 8–10 (a similar challenge to Vinay's). Her approach to behaviour management was consistent with her belief in building self-esteem, frequently involving patient one-to-one dialogue:

> If I punish them bitterly, what impact will it have on their lives? … I decided there should be some balancing point … and I found that if you try to have a word with them, if you try to make them think over that, or if you try to converse with them, then definitely there is another way out. (FI/03:00)

Because she taught her home class for the first lesson each day, she was able to implement three specific strategies there to help improve behaviour and application: her use of meditation, a mixed-ability seating plan and homework monitors.

Each day, after the mandatory national anthem and prayer, she began class with a short meditation exercise (see Figure 22) to calm and focus the learners onto the learning, an idea she got from a workshop on mindfulness:

> Since my class is a bit noisy class, or there are most mischievous students in my class, this is something I think works well for me. (FI/00:20)

Figure 22

Students meditating at the start of the day (Gr. 8)

For five years she had made use of a carefully arranged seating plan, sitting alternate desks of girls and boys in a chequerboard pattern across the class (see Figures 22 and 23). On each desk, she would either sit a less able or more disruptive learner between two more able ones, or a more able learner in the centre of two less able ones.[29] This strategy both

[29] Mirroring recommendations in cooperative learning literature (e.g., Kagan & Kagan, 2009).

reduced problems caused by disruptive learners congregating together in the classroom, and also encouraged peer tutoring:

> Sometimes there are some students who don't want to sit like that … frequently I tell them that 'See you are good at studies, so why don't you help others?' and 'You can help them, you can lead them', so this way they become ready for that. (FI/06:50)

Figure 23

Nurjahan's chequerboard seating pattern (Gr. 8)

W S W	S W S	W S W	W S W
W S W	S W S	S W S	S W S
S W S	W S W	W S W	S W S

Notes. White cell: male desk. Grey cell: female desk. W = "weak", S = "strong" learner.

Her use of homework monitors not only reduced the amount of in-class time spent on checking homework, but also gave her learners greater responsibility (consistent with her belief in learner autonomy) and encouraged peer regulation. Six monitors were responsible for ensuring completion of homework among a number of peers and Nurjahan would consult them every day before lessons began.

Off-task and disruptive behaviour were observed noticeably more often in her other C-stream classes than in her home class. She dealt with these using both frequent, individualised reminders (using learners' names) as well as regular encouragement and praise for appropriate behaviour and achievement:

EXTRACT 42: Nurjahan/Obs.29/32:00

T: Anybody from this group only has to read. Ah, Kamil cannot read, Kamil has read the answer yesterday. Come on Sagar, everybody listen to Sagar. Come on! Sh-sh-sh. (quietening class) Quickly. See others have made efforts, so it's your time now. *Patkan* Sagar. (laughter can be heard) Behave yourself, Omkar. OK everybody listen to Papu, last answer.	T: Anybody from this group only has to read. Ah, Kamil cannot read, Kamil has read the answer yesterday. Come on Sagar, everybody listen to Sagar. Come on! Sh-sh-sh. (quietening class) Quickly. See others have made efforts, so it's your time now. *Hurry up* Sagar. (laughter can be heard) Behave yourself, Omkar. OK everybody listen to Papu, last answer.

S1: *Amhi tyala madat karun tyala changlya thikani gane mhananyas pathavu. Evdhach lihilay.*	S1: *We will try to send him to a better place where he can sing. That is all I wrote.*
T: Sh-sh, Arun? So this group says that we will try to send him to a good place, where he can sing and earn money, instead of begging. *Mhanje bhika maganyapeksa, tyala asha jagi pathavu jikade to jaun gana mhanun to apla pot bharu shakel, tyala bhik magayachi garaj nahi changlya thikani.* He can sing at a good place, OK. So very nice answers, very good efforts, good.	T: Sh-sh, Arun? So this group says that we will try to send him to a good place, where he can sing and earn money, instead of begging. *Rather than begging, to send him to a place where he can fill his stomach by singing, he does not need to beg in a good place.* He can sing at a good place, OK. So very nice answers, very good efforts, good.

Individuals who engaged in regular off-task behaviour received more directed, yet brief attention (Obs. 4, 5, 7, 21), often leading to more sustained engagement (e.g., Obs. 21). She was careful to avoid humiliating such learners in front of classmates, and consistent with her belief, she more often managed behaviour in closed discussions (e.g., Obs. 13).

She also differentiated in her approach to behaviour management. On one occasion, a boy who had a probable SEN arrived 45 minutes late for a lesson. Nurjahan observed only, "*Ek tas zhala.* [*It's been an hour.*]" (Obs. 25/45:10). After class (PLI5) she admitted that she often made specific concessions for this boy.

She also interacted with parents regularly. I observed three occasions when she had meetings with parents to discuss their offspring (e.g., before Obs. 24). On one occasion, she capitalised on the chance visit of a mother to her class mid-lesson to arrange such a meeting quickly (Obs. 23).

8.5. Languaging practice

8.5.1. Teacher's languaging practice

Nurjahan used mainly English in her lessons (m = 76% of total resources), including for the majority of instructions, classroom language, and behaviour management, although she noted "many times I monitor and simplify it" (WA/30.04.20) to increase understanding for her learners. While she spoke Malvani, the first language of most of her learners (only partially intelligible with Marathi), she rarely made use of it in class. Marathi, as the MOI of

all but her grade 5 class and the first language of a minority of learners was her alternative to English; its use fluctuated depending on the lesson or activity type (16–42%):

> JA: When do you use more Marathi?
>
> It depends upon the class … suppose that it is an explanation lesson, then I have to use Marathi because they don't understand each and everything in English. (PLI4/06:30)

In her home class, pastoral issues were usually managed in Marathi; an abrupt switch to English often signalled the start of the lesson (e.g., Obs. 19, 25, 29, 31). However, she most often used it to reinforce something she had said in English, especially when asking questions, conducting text interpretation (Obs. 9, 18, 23, 28, 30), or giving instructions (Obs. 20, 23, 29):

EXTRACT 43: Nurjahan/Obs.23/02:00

T: Yes, *shista* and what do we call that in English? *Shista la inglisa madhye kaya mhanatata?* It starts with 'D'?	T: Yes, *discipline* and what do we call that in English? *What is discipline called in English?* It starts with 'D'?
S1: Discipline.	S1: Discipline.

Marathi was also often used to translate, or elicit translations of English lexical items (e.g., when pre-teaching vocabulary before reading tasks; Obs. 7, 13, 18, 19, 23, 28), and was frequently used when teaching grammar, for example, to explain the role of adverbs (Obs. 4) or conjunctions (Obs. 13) and occasionally in translation exercises (e.g., Obs. 6, 14):

EXTRACT 44: Nurjahan/Obs.14/15:10

T: What does it mean in Marathi? Raise your hands to answer. 'How nice it will be.' Gauresh, pay attention, please. Vedant?

S1: *He kiti chana hoila.* [*How nice it will be.*]

T: *He kiti chana hoila.* [*How nice it will be.*]

Translanguaging was also common (e.g., Obs. 13, 14, 17, 19, 20), sometimes involving a Marathi matrix in which she used new or low frequency English lexical items from the text ('heel', 'poisoned arrow'):

EXTRACT 45: Nurjahan/Obs.17/22:00

T: Achilles *shariracha, ekch bhag tyachi* heel *ha ughada hota, jithe tyala jakhami karta yet hota. Ani tithech* poisoned arrow *lagla ani tyacha mrutyu zala.*	T: *The only part of* Achilles's *body that was exposed was his* heel*, where he could be injured. And there a* poisoned arrow *struck and he died.*

While she was aware of it, Nurjahan felt that her translanguaging was an instinctual, rather than a premeditated process:

> It happens naturally, I'll say. Because I'm quite used to using, switching languages, so for example when I'm speaking in Marathi or in Hindi, then I also use many English words… (PLI4/11:00)

When she monitored learner seatwork, her language choices also seemed to be differentiated, using more Marathi for less able learners (e.g., Obs. 21).

8.5.2. Learners' languaging practice

Nurjahan's lessons were L1-inclusive; learners were encouraged to participate and respond in any language (e.g., Obs. 2, 14, 25), and this participation was more important than language choice per se:

EXTRACT 46: Nurjahan/Obs.25/41:20

T: If you cannot answer in English, then try to answer in Marathi. What were Tansen and Akbar talking about? *Tansen ani Akbar kasabaddala bolata hote?* [*What were Tansen and Akbar talking about?*]

She noted that many had a "phobia" of speaking English that prevented them from contributing to lessons:

> There is a kind of feeling that if I speak in English, others will laugh at me. Sometimes students tease each other … So these things prohibit them from expressing freely in English…
>
> JA: And for this reason you allow them to use Marathi?
>
> Yeah, I tell them, because if I say you have to talk in English, then nobody will dare. But, OK, you are free to use Marathi … then it becomes at least they are active in the class, at least they try to get up and share what they feel. (PLI4/09:25)

If learners made contributions in Marathi, these were often followed either by an attempt to elicit the same in English, or her paraphrasing the contribution in English herself (Obs. 5, 14, 25, 29):

EXTRACT 47: Nurjahan/Obs.14/22:10
T: OK, so how can we say this in English? Millions of years ago, stones fall on the ground from the sky.

During group and pairwork, learners were free to use whatever languaging resources they preferred. In one lesson (Obs. 29), she allowed groups to discuss, make notes and present answers on a complex discussion question in any language. Interestingly, about half chose to do so in English.

While the majority of learner writing was in English (e.g., answers to comprehension questions, text composition), she allowed Marathi for notes on lexis:

> If they are writing vocabulary, then only I allow them to write in Marathi, because, I think that is like using the L1 wisely, so making them comfortable. (PLI4/12:00)

8.6. Curriculum coverage and planning

8.6.1. Curriculum coverage and materials choice

Given the close links between textbooks and exam content in the Maharashtra State Board, Nurjahan's lessons were dominated by use of the textbook, like those of all teachers observed in the state. She tended to move systematically through each unit, covering the texts in detail and also the majority of exercises. Only a few lessons included grammatical foci that were not derived directly from the textbook, but nonetheless involved content that was typically tested in exams (e.g., Obs. 29, 31).

When I visited (November to December), Nurjahan and her colleagues were already under pressure—even from learners in Grade 10—to finish the textbook to leave January to April for exam preparation. Despite this pressure, Nurjahan consistently revealed an awareness of the importance of ensuring learner understanding before moving on: "I don't think one lesson is enough for them to deal with that [text section]" (PLI1/26:50). One area where she usually replaced textbook content concerned text comprehension activities, which

she tailored to their ability level, both "to check their comprehension" (PLI3/18:30) and to develop their ability to understand the text independently:

> If they engage with [my] activities, it will be like helping them to understand the text on their own … the ones given in the textbook, they sometimes feel are too high for them, or sometimes they are too easy for them... (PLI2/10:00)

8.6.2. Planning

Nurjahan's lesson planning was primarily a mental process (ETI/13:40), in which she would think through a subunit in the textbook ("the lesson") and ask herself a number of questions about it, considering the ability level and needs of the learners:

> JA: How do you plan your teaching?
> I look at the lesson and I see: Is it too difficult, too simple? How can I teach it? Is it necessary to explain the things? Is it necessary to go for interpretation? Or if I have to, then which examples can I use or what easy ways can I use to make that hard text easier for them? (ETI/14:03)

She sometimes—not always—made notes, especially of comprehension questions or tasks, either annotating the coursebook or including separate slips of paper (see Figure 24). Her text comprehension tasks were gradually scaffolded in complexity:

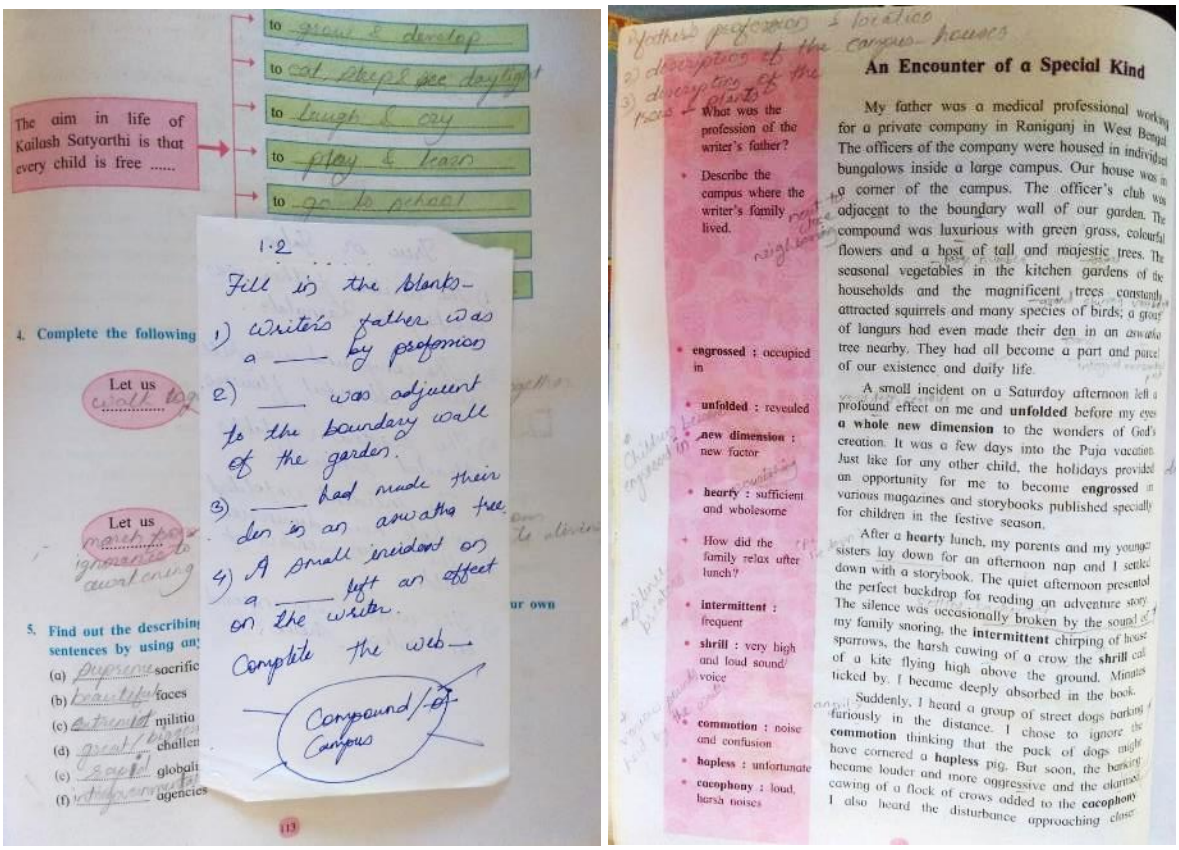
> …using the information I gave in one activity, on the basis of what learners did in that, I use that process to take them towards more complex ones. For example if you had noticed, for today's true or false activity, I used the information they have done in previous activities, and also based on that information, one, two and three activity, I planned the fourth activity. (ETI/15:05)

As for many teachers in India, the unpredictability of the working day sometimes impacted on Nurjahan's ability to plan. There were occasions when, at short notice, she was asked to teach different timetables to what she had expected upon arriving at the school in the morning, including, on one occasion, a triple period. She reflected on the challenges of this afterwards:

> It went well. I can't say it was very good or it was very boring. It was in the middle somewhere, because I, on the spot, came to know that I had to engage two periods or three periods so it was something like, I was hoping for a break after the first period and so I could have got some more time for other preparations but I didn't get it. (PLI5/06:40)

Figure 24

Nurjahan's planning notes and textbook annotations (Gr. 10)



8.7. Classroom practice

8.7.1. Lesson structure

A notable feature of Nurjahan's lessons was the inclusion of frequent reviews and regular signposting to guide and consolidate learning. At the start of lessons, as well as checking answers to homework tasks (e.g., Obs. 25, 30), she would frequently conduct reviews of prior learning (e.g., Obs. 1, 3, 4, 8, 11, 16, 17, 19, 26), for example, by using whole-class questioning:

EXTRACT 48: Nurjahan/Obs.19/01:30

T: Before we move to the next part, can we have a quick revision of the text? *Thode prasna vicaru tumhala adhica ya bhagavara?* [*Shall I ask you a few questions in this area?*] Are you ready? OK. My first question is: how many characters are there in the story?

SS: Three.

T: OK, can you raise your hands if you want to answer? Jagdish.

S1: Three.

T: OK, who are they? Who are they? Kamil?

S2: Tansen, Akbar, Sant Haridas.

T: OK. Very good. Who is Tansen's music teacher? Veda?

S3: Sant Haridas.

T: Yeah, very good…

She also conducted regular review activities mid-lesson to recap on learning so far: "Let's quickly revise…" (Obs. 25/31:40; also Obs. 14, 15, 19, 20, 22, 31), although reviews at the end of lessons were less common (Obs. 27, 31), likely due, in part, to unpredictable lesson lengths. Signposting strategies included brief overviews of her plan at the start of lessons (Obs. 17, 19, 21, 23, 25), and indications of progress mid-lesson (Obs. 20, 21, 26, 27, 28).

In my field notes, I regularly noted a "fast" (Obs. 8, 15, 20) or "good" (Obs. 1, 4, 11, 27) pace to lessons. For both silent reading tasks and learner activities she often provided time limits and reminders to keep learners focused (Obs. 3, 5, 12, 16, 17, 20, 21, 25, 26). She also made use of specific strategies (e.g., a Bingo game) to maintain a brisk pace (Obs. 5, 7, 12, 13, 17, 21, 27).

8.7.2. Negotiation and improvisation

Nurjahan was frequently observed to negotiate with her learners. On a small number of occasions this involved negotiating the lesson focus itself (Obs. 5, 29), but more often it involved specifics of how an activity would be done. For example, how she would pre-teach new lexis (Obs. 19, 22), how extensive the activity would be (Obs. 4, 25), how feedback would be conducted (Obs. 16) or whether they would work collaboratively or individually (Obs. 5, 16, 17, 21, 22, 27, 29):

EXTRACT 49: Nurjahan/Obs.29/14:00

T: What shall we do first? Can we complete that activity that we left yesterday? *Kalachi apurna* activity *ghe'uya ki. Pudhchi* activity *gheuya? Kiti jananna vatatay?* [*Let's take yesterday's incomplete* activity*. Or should we take the new* activity? *How many of you think so?*] How many of you think that we should go to the next activity? (SS raise hands) and how many think, almost ten people, how many think we should complete yesterday's activity? (SS raise hands, majority) OK, that one question that we left. OK do you want to discuss with groups, or do you want to discuss in pairs?

SS: (majority) Group.

T: OK so can we quickly form the groups?

She usually went with the majority preference of the class (PLI4, ETI).

On a number of occasions, Nurjahan was observed to improvise mid-lesson changes to her planned lesson, mainly in response to learner needs. This included, for example, the choice to replace a planned task with a simpler (Obs. 17) or more challenging one (Obs. 31), the decision to conduct revision or review activities (Obs. 6, 27), and the decision to differentiate, providing an additional task to faster finishers (Obs. 5, 16, 17, 25, 29, 31).

8.7.3. Whole class teaching

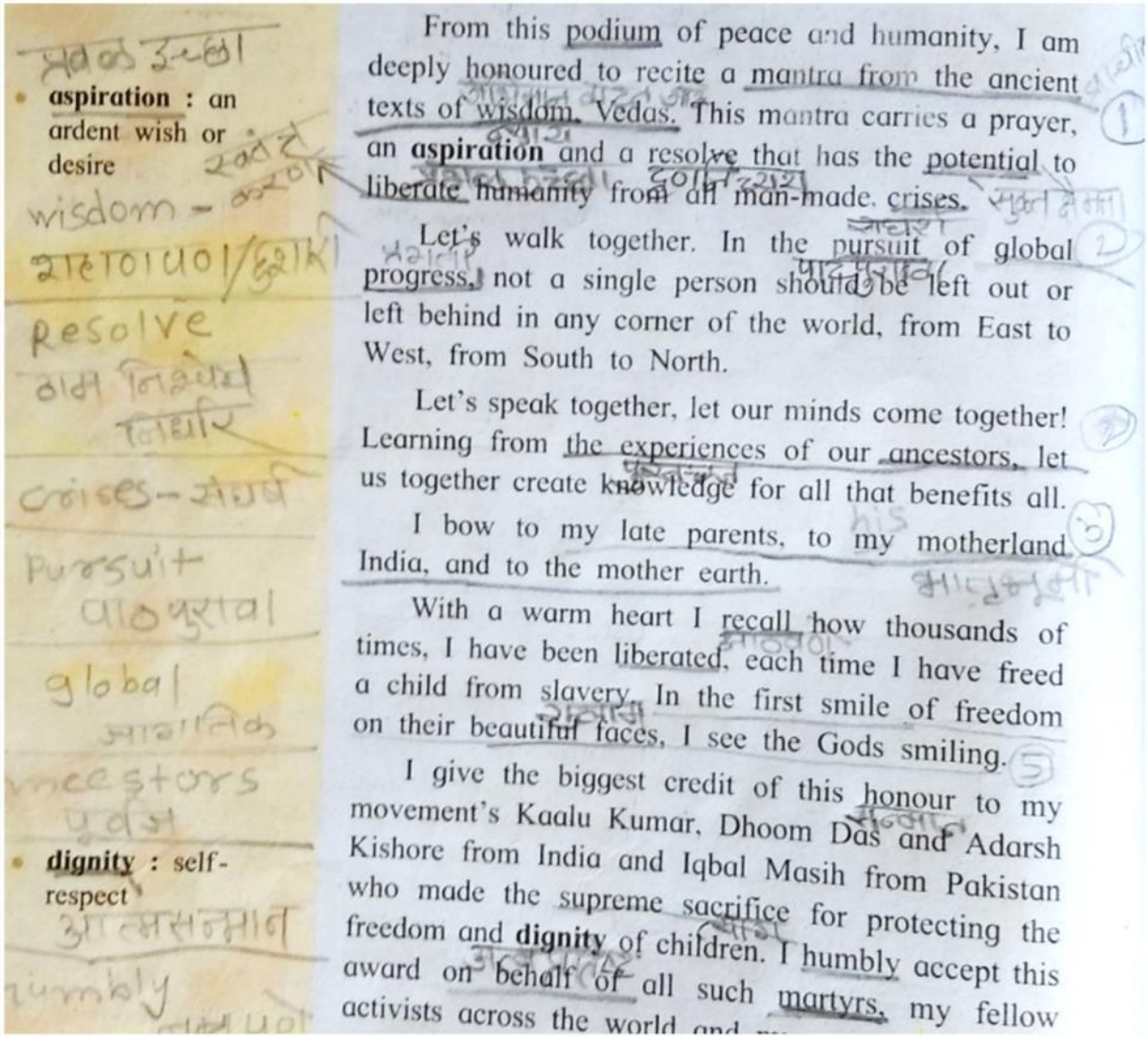
Nurjahan's teaching involved an approximate 50–50 balance of whole class instruction and independent (usually collaborative) activity work, most often in that order. Within this, the following whole-class teaching practices were most common:

8.7.3.1. *Bilingual vocabulary pre-teaching*

Nurjahan would often pre-teach a number of items of lexis to prepare leaners for reading tasks. In her exam-focused grade 10 class, she often used both direct translation and paraphrasing to do this, usually at a fast pace (e.g., Obs. 18, 23, 28). Learners would take notes, either by annotating the text (see Figure 25), or in bilingual vocabulary notebooks.

Figure 25

Grade 10 learner's annotations to textbook text



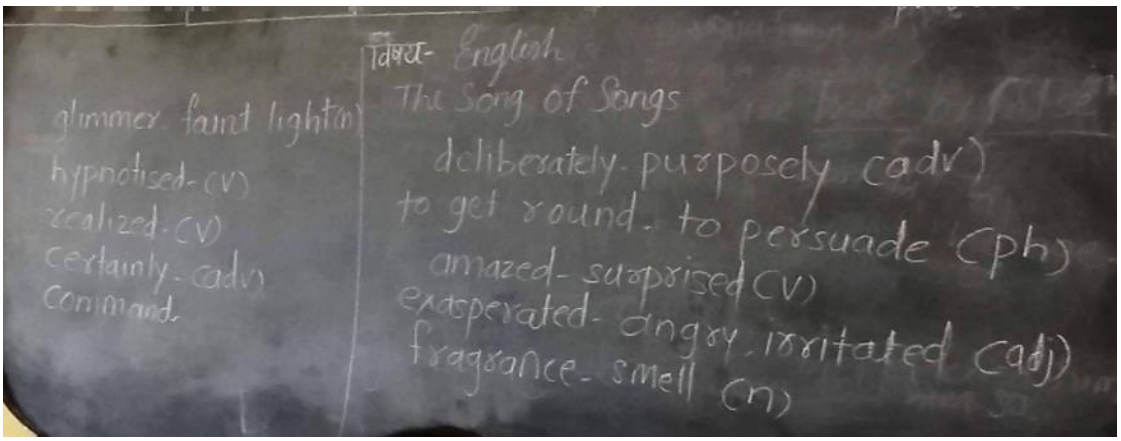
In her grade 8 and 9 classes, they would often play a "vocabulary quest" game that they had "invented" (PLI1/08:00), in which learners would race to find and then spell a word in the text, followed by elicitation of Marathi equivalents and part of speech. Nurjahan would sometimes also give example sentences in English (Obs. 2, 7, 13, 19), or comments on usage (Obs. 13, 19):

EXTRACT 50: Nurjahan/Obs.19/21:00	
T: Next word is 'amazed' (lots of hands go up almost instantly. T chuckles) amazed. Page sixty-one, amazed. Er, Gayatri?	T: Next word is 'amazed' (lots of hands go up almost instantly. T chuckles) amazed. Page sixty-one, amazed. Er, Gayatri?
S1: A-M-A-Z-E-D.	S1: A-M-A-Z-E-D.
T: OK. A-M-A-Z-E-D. (Goes to board and writes it) Amazed means surprised. Can you guess the meaning? Surprised.	T: OK. A-M-A-Z-E-D. (Goes to board and writes it) Amazed means surprised. Can you guess the meaning? Surprised.
S2: *Ashcharyachakit jhala*.	S2: *Surprised*.
T: *Ashcharyachakit jhala*, yes. He was amazed, he was surprised. *Ashcharyachakit jhala ki he asa kasa zala?* (pauses for SS to write) Part of speech or kind of word? Amazed, he was amazed.	T: *Surprised*, yes. He was amazed, he was surprised. *Surprised, the man was surprised that this had happened?* (pauses for SS to write) Part of speech or kind of word? Amazed, he was amazed.
S3: Adjective.	S3: Adjective.
T: Adjective. Yeah, sometimes it works as an adjective...	T: Adjective. Yeah, sometimes it works as an adjective...

Especially in her English-medium grade 5 class she sometimes explained meanings in English or used mime and contextual clues to clarify meanings (e.g., "'shift' the desk"; Obs. 9). In all grades she would usually finish vocabulary pre-teaching with brief pronunciation drills of the items (Obs. 2, 4, 6, 9, 13, 18, 19, 24, 25, 28). Her choice of lexical items (see Figure 26) included those in the text glossary, abstract lexis and idiomatic phrases (e.g., Obs. 13: "long past the age"; Obs. 19: "get round").

Figure 26

Lexis pre-taught in Observation 19 (Gr. 8)



8.7.3.2. *Questioning and elicitation strategies*

Nurjahan made extensive use of varied questioning strategies throughout her lessons. As well as during reviews of prior learning (see 8.7.1), she would frequently build context, or background schemata through questioning, mainly lower-order, but also occasionally asking higher order questions (Obs. 5, 23). During British Council training workshops, she had also learnt to use instruction and concept check questions (ETI/17:30); both were observed frequently (Obs. 1, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 21, 22, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32):

EXTRACT 51: Nurjahan/Obs.11/03:20

T: I'm giving you five minutes. Within five minutes, you will be working with your partner. The answer you will need is on page ninety-five, so work with your partner and find out the activities which changed Meena's life. How much time do you have? How much time do you have?

SS: Five minutes.

Five minutes. Are you working alone or with partner?

SS: (a few) Partner.

T: Loudly?

SS: Partner.

T: And where will you look for the answer? Which page did I ask you?

SS: ninety-five.

T: Good. Start working.

8.7.3.3. *Other whole class teaching practices*

Occasional grammar lessons (e.g., Obs. 6, 29, 32) involved what she called an "inductive method". She would provide numerous examples of usage of a particular structure, gradually accompanying this with questions and L1 explanations to clarify the meaning (ETI), followed by controlled practice activities. She also made "limited" (LHI/55:05) use of monolingual (Obs. 6, 8) or bilingual (Obs. 9, 18, 23, 28, 30) text interpretation. She would also conduct short bouts of remedial teaching during feedback to activities (discussed below). While textbook exercises were usually done collaboratively, she also occasionally went through these in whole-class mode, eliciting answers quickly. This was most common at Grade 10 (e.g., Obs. 11, 18, 20).

8.7.4. Activities

For approximately half of Nurjahan's lesson time, learners were engaged in various independent practice activities, including reading practice, and collaborative work on both

text comprehension tasks and textbook activities, She also provided several closed and partially open writing tasks (e.g., Obs. 24, 29, 30, 31, 32), for example, allowing learners to think up their own example sentences using specific structures (Obs. 32). Only two activities were observed in which Nurjahan encouraged them to speak freely in English (Obs. 29, 32).

8.7.4.1. ***Reading practice***

During reading lessons, after pre-teaching relevant lexis, Nurjahan would usually read through the text section aloud herself (Obs. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 22, 28), to provide "a model" for the learners (FI/09:20), something they requested on two occasions when she negotiated this (Obs. 13, 22):

EXTRACT 52: Nurjahan/Obs.22/30:50

T: Do you want me to read first, or will you read? *Mi aadhi vachu ki tumhi vachanar?*	T: Do you want me to read first, or will you read? *Shall I read or will you?*
SS: (varied, including) You.	SS: (varied, including) You.
T: Huh? *Mi vachu asa kiti jananna vajtay vatataya?* (many SS raise hands) OK, so I'll read one time, pay attention.	T: Huh? *How many people are waiting for me to read?* (many SS raise hands) OK, so I'll read one time, pay attention.

After this she would instruct the learners to read the section individually and silently (Obs. 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 22, 28), usually without a global reading task. While they read, Nurjahan would write her pre-prepared text comprehension tasks on the board, ready for the subsequent collaborative learning stage. She felt that this scaffolded approach to reading practice provided useful support for weaker learners with lower levels of literacy (FI).

8.7.4.2. ***Collaborative learning***

Formal collaborative learning was observed in half of Nurjahan's observed lessons (16 of 32), and informal pairwork occurred in an additional four lessons. Collaborative learning activities were typically three to eight minutes in length and usually involved learners working with "bench partners" (PLI3; see Figure 27), thereby reducing the need for movement, and keeping groups small, although larger groups (5–7 students) were also observed on two occasions (Obs. 26, 29). Nurjahan generally chose collaborative learning for more challenging activities, perceiving that learners could benefit from peer support:

> …it's a bit [more difficult], so for that I thought that if they will discuss with their partners, it will become easier for them … if they need they can go back to their

notes, and that will be a good way for them to collaborate and find those answers. (PLI3a/08:00)

Figure 27

Collaborative learning happened mainly in desk groups, with occasional intra-group consultation (Obs. 21, Gr. 9)

When she negotiated how they would do an activity, the majority expressed a preference to work collaboratively (Obs. 5, 16, 17, 21, 22, 27, 29), corroborated by data from learner focus group interviews, when most ranked "includes pair and groupwork" equal second among ten qualities of an effective teacher. However, she also experienced some difficulties getting a minority of higher-achieving learners to work with their peers, linking this challenge to broader social issues on one occasion:

> Collaboration is not that popular among students.
>
> JA: Why?
>
> Because they are living in a world where students are mostly self-centred, so they prioritise to think on their own, so I think if they have to survive in the world, they need collaboration, and for that purpose I'm making them do some groupwork ... Sometimes the brightest students they also refuse, 'No, I have to focus on my own study.' (PLI3b/00:30)

For this reason, she never forced learners to work together, although she often encouraged it when monitoring:

EXTRACT 53: Nurjahan/Obs.17/12:55
T: (12:55) OK, Seema and Prachi, work together. That will be easier... T: (13:07) Pratiksha and Aishwarya, you can always help each other...

Bench groups were most often used for text comprehension activities, including true/false, sentence completion, sentence ordering and mind-mapping tasks. Most learners began working on these tasks individually, consulting partners more as the activity progressed. Their discussion was mainly in Marathi and Malvani, with some translingual use of English resources, especially from the text (e.g., Obs. 25/22:00). Post-text "English workshop" activities were also sometimes done in bench groups (e.g., Obs. 20, 21, 25) and on two occasions longer groupwork discussion activities were also observed (Obs. 26, 29).

8.7.4.3. ***Differentiated extension activities***

Probably the most common way in which Nurjahan differentiated in her teaching was in her use of extension activities to keep higher-achievers busy when they finished set tasks early (Obs. 5, 13, 16, 17, 21, 24, 25, 29, 31), as these extracts from Observation 25 show:

EXTRACT 54: Nurjahan/Obs.25/46:55
T: (46:55) OK Rex, now you have finished earlier, can you find out the words related to music from the text?... T: (50:10) Those who have finished writing, copy down, er sorry, find out the words relating to music from the text. *Jyancha lihuna jhale ahe tyancyasaṭhi* [*For those who have written*.]... T: (50:40) Mayuresh, finished? OK, find words related to music.

8.7.5. Monitoring

Nurjahan's active monitoring of student activities, either collaborative or individual, was particularly impressive. Both during text comprehension tasks and coursebook exercises, she was able to provide rapid personalised support to a large number of learners over a short period of time, including tuition that offered mediation and scaffolding support, sensitive error correction and regular positive reinforcement:

EXTRACT 55: Nurjahan/Obs.29/44:10	
T: (monitoring, to S1) Look at the spelling Sakshi, 'assertive' and see sentence, look at the spelling. 'Assertive' *ci* spelling *ekada bagha. Ani ha 'n' nahi* sentence *madhye.* (shows in her notebook)...	T: (monitoring, to S1) Look at the spelling Sakshi, 'assertive' and see sentence, look at the spelling. *Look at the* spelling *of* 'assertive'. *And this* 'n' *is not in the* sentence. (shows in her notebook)...
T: (44:40, to S2) *Don sabdancya madhye thodi* gaps *sodayacya*...	T: (44:40, to S2) *Leave little* gaps *between the two words*...
T: (44:50, to S3) *Aksara* neat *kadhayace* Jagdish (x) *lihuna ghyayacam* sentence spelling.	T:(44:50, to S3) Jagdish, *form the letters* neatly (x) *writing* spelling of 'sentence'.

Learners often called her for assistance (e.g., 14 in 8 minutes; Obs. 25), revealing how comfortable with this method they were:

EXTRACT 56: Nurjahan/Obs.25/35:00
S1: Madam? (inaudible)
T: (checking her work) Yes, good. (looks up) Kamil, did you call me? Yes.
S2: (inaudible)
T: *Pahilyach dakhav.* [*Show me the first one.*] Yes, good, great. *Doghani shodhala milun ki ekane?* [*Did you find it together or alone*?]
S3: (inaudible)
Wow! Good! Second, yes. Good, very nice. (Looking up) Who called me?

Among several benefits to her active monitoring strategies, Nurjahan mentioned the opportunity to check their answers without learners risking making errors in front of peers:

> …there are many students who wouldn't get up, and who wouldn't dare to speak in front of the whole class, but they will show me that, yes we're doing like this, and sometimes they are correct. Their answers are correct. So I think they get a boost when I appreciate their efforts. (PLI5a/12:30)

Her support was also differentiated. With lower achievers she used more Marathi, and provided more direct support, giving hints if they looked lost (e.g., Obs. 25). Higher achievers were pushed to achieve more (Obs. 20, 25), either with extension activities or critical feedback:

EXTRACT 57: Nurjahan/Obs.21/08:00	
T: This is correct, but see, if you are talking about this one, this has to be a complete sentence. It has to have some link. *Tyaci kuṭhe* link*a ahe ka? Tevadhaca bhaga deuna basa ho'ila ka? Te dusaram sangitalam te agadi barobara ahe*...	T: This is correct, but see, if you are talking about this one, this has to be a complete sentence. It has to have some link. *Does it have any* link*? Will it be enough to only indicate part of the* link*? That's exactly what the other* (student) *said*...
T:(10:20; returning to same student) Yes, exactly. Now you're on the right track.	T:(10:20; returning to same student) Yes, exactly. Now you're on the right track.

While tutoring was her most common monitoring role, she also conducted more general classroom management roles, such as keeping learners on task and encouraging collaboration (Obs. 3, 5, 8, 11, 20, 21, 25, 27, 29, 32):

> I check whether they are working in groups, are they following the instructions or not? … and I encourage them, talk to your partner. (PLI5a/08:50)

She also monitored for formative assessment purposes, often providing ongoing observational feedback (Obs. 3, 5, 11, 20, 21, 25, 29, 31), justified through the need to avoid negatively impacting on individuals' self-esteem, alongside time-saving advantages:

> Suppose if a group of learners are doing the same mistake again and again, then I can address it as a general issue, without hurting someone. (PLI5a/10:50)

8.7.6. Feedback to activities

Whole class feedback to activities involved elicitation and confirmation of answers (with praise) or correction, often elicited sensitively from peers. Learners were expected to raise their hands; shouting out and choral responses were discouraged:

EXTRACT 58: Nurjahan/Obs.32/27:55
T: No, no, no. No chorus answers.

More challenging items were elicited from those with hands raised (usually more able learners; e.g., Obs. 25), although she also regularly invited others to try (Obs. 4, 11, 17, 19, 20), particularly when she was aware that they had the correct answer, having noted this while monitoring:

EXTRACT 59: Nurjahan/Obs.26/28:00

T: Yash has got the exact answer. Can you read, Yash?

When learners had incorrect answers, she was careful both to praise them for their effort and to seek clarification:

EXTRACT 60: Nurjahan/Obs.32/27:40

T: (reading prompt item) We cleaned the school ground. Yes, Jesh?

S1: Last day ago.

T: Last day ago? OK. Who will help Jesh? Last day ago? But actually he is trying. Par?

S2: The day before yesterday.

T: OK.

Remedial teaching was provided if most or all the learners had experienced difficulty (e.g., Obs. 21, 25). Nurjahan often scaffolded self-correction at such times, as in the following example involving two lexical items she had pre-taught earlier in the lesson:

EXTRACT 61: Nurjahan/Obs.25/25:45

T: OK, so, time up. Can we have a look at the answers? First one, Tansen knew how to persuade his teacher.	T: OK, so, time up. Can we have a look at the answers? First one, Tansen knew how to persuade his teacher.
S1: False.	S1: False.
T: False, how many of you think it's false. (several SS raise hands) Now check the meaning of 'get round', sorry 'persuade', and then let me know what's your answer. 'Persuade' *cha artha bagha aṇi maga mala uttara sanga.*	T: False, how many of you think it's false. (several SS raise hands) Now check the meaning of 'get round', sorry 'persuade', and then let me know what's your answer. 'Persuade' l*ook at the meaning and then tell me the answer.*
SS: *Man valavane.*	SS: *Persuade.*
T: *Man valavane ani* 'get roundca' *artha?*	T: *Persuade, and* 'get round'*s' meaning?*
SS: (inaudible)	SS: (inaudible)
T: *Ha*, so *kaya vatata ahe. Pahila* true *ki* false?	T: *Yes,* so *what do you think? Is the first one* true *or* false?
SS: (a few) True.	SS: (a few) True.
T: (smiles) True. *Lakshat? Mhanun me mhatala.* It's all about meaning of words.	T: (smiles) True. *Remember? That's why I said.* It's all about meaning of words.

Corrective feedback, particularly of pronunciation (e.g., 4, 5, 7, 9, 16, 19, 20, 24, 31, 32), was also common during feedback, often through the use of brisk, partial recasts.

Grammatical errors were also corrected through recasts, both partial and conversational (Obs. 9, 32), as in the following example:

EXTRACT 62: Nurjahan/Obs.32/10:30

T: What did we do last week? (S1 raises her hand) Yes?
S1: We write sentence last week.
T: Yeah, we wrote sentences last week. Very nice, and I can say (S2 raises hand and interrupts)
S2: Read (/ri:d/) sentences.
T: We read (/red/) sentences last week, yes, OK.

Elicited self- and peer correction involved the use of metalinguistic cues (e.g., "I must use school or I must come to school?"; Obs. 9/06:05). Upon completion of feedback, she would sometimes review correct answers to reinforce them (e.g., Obs. 21, 25) and she would often ask learners to write up notes on correct answers for homework (e.g., Obs. 3, 5, 11, 31), partly for consolidation of learning but also to reduce peer-dependency:

> Why I ask them to write at home? Because it will be a kind of linking. Because they will learn something here. What do they do? Sometimes they just copy each other's answers. I want to avoid that, so when they get home they will at least try to recall what happened in the class. (PLI2/18:30)

8.7.7. Other aspects of Nurjahan's classroom practice

Nurjahan frequently linked learning to her learners' lives and personal experiences (Obs. 1, 14, 18, 19, 20, 23, 29, 31), for example, by using example sentences that were true about her learners "We are going to Tondavali." (Obs. 32; before a school trip to Tondavali).

Occasionally she included activities that focused on study skills (e.g., Obs. 6, 7, 9), integrated EdTech (Obs. 2, 6), involved games (e.g., "slap the board", Obs. 22) or student presentations (Obs. 14, 29). While choral reading of sentences, phrases or words was occasionally observed (Obs. 14, 19, 24), rote learning was not, and neither were extensive writing or English-only speaking activities.

8.8. Subject knowledge and PCK

Nurjahan's English proficiency is at the highest level (C2) for all four skills. She exhibited extensive subject knowledge in the three areas of grammar, lexis and pronunciation, and was

able to draw upon this knowledge well in the classroom, providing responsive clarification, answers to learner questions and appropriate correction as required (e.g., Obs. 6, 13, 27, 31), evidence of a well-developed PCK. For example, in response to a learner question encountered while monitoring, she was able to provide an impromptu explanation of the meaning and use of the structure "neither–nor" (Obs. 31/37:20). Similar examples were observed in her clarification of lexis and pronunciation. For example, when clarifying the meaning of "deliberately", she came up with appropriate example sentences ("You deliberately pushed me"), synonyms ("purposely"), and Marathi equivalents ("*muddama*"). With regard to pronunciation, she regularly improvised on-the-spot foci on words learners had difficulty pronouncing (e.g., Obs. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 13, 19, 24, 25). The only areas of challenge with regard to subject knowledge involved culturally embedded or very low frequency lexis, such as the English pronunciation of "Achilles" (Obs. 21) and "martyr" (e.g., Obs. 30).

Her subject knowledge was closely related both to learner and curriculum knowledge, enabling her to correctly anticipate which words her learners had not previously studied on several occasions. I asked her once about her choice to pre-teach the fairly common item "pupil". She explained, "that word I don't think has been taught to them in any standard" (PLI1/11:30). Sure enough, the learners had exhibited no prior knowledge of it.

8.9. Reflection

Nurjahan took willingly to reflection during the five post-lesson interviews. She was able to describe her aims/intentions clearly and also to identify differences between the planned and the taught lesson. She evaluated each lesson in critical detail, often aware of both strengths and weaknesses. The following global evaluation was fairly typical and consistent with her belief in the importance of reflecting on the "learning process" (ETI/07:10) rather than her teaching:

> JA: What are your reflections on the lesson today? How do you feel it went?
> It went good. I can't say it was a great lesson. The vocabulary part went well. I'm happy that, as we are progressing, the learners are able to identify differences between verbs, nouns. Sometimes, yeah they do mingle [confuse them] but most of the time they are good with them. And they are catching up with the pronunciation, they are doing the activities. *Haa* [*Yes*], but I'm not that good with collaboration, because still I find it difficult that, though there are instructions, like work with your

> partner, still they are not that much doing so, they focus on their individual needs, or there is not much collaboration, so I have to work on that. (PLI1/03:40)

When I asked her to reflect on the learning of an individual student, she often paused for some time before responding and then provided a detailed description. On several occasions, I pushed her to explain how she knew this; she was able to be specific about activity types, interaction while monitoring, and her observations of their notes, evidence of her conducting informal formative assessment as she taught:

> JA: … how do you observe her in a big class, how do you observe someone like that?
> When she was doing activities, I was following her, and I checked understanding personally, because she was showing the evidence, she was giving me answers personally.
> JA: And when did you check her understanding personally? When you were monitoring?
> Yes, when I was monitoring.
> JA: Did you question her or did you just look at her book?
> I listened to her answers. She was talking with me, she was giving me evidence. (PLI3/17:40)

She also found it easy to recall specific moments of her interactive reflection (Anderson, 2019) while she was teaching, what she called her "during-class reflection" (PLI2/05:28), and also able to reflect further on these afterwards (Schön's "reflection on reflection-in-action", 1995):

> One quality is that I can reflect during teaching also. Suppose if things are not going the way I think they should go, I can change that. So sometimes when I'm doing some activity, and I think, no, students are not responding in that way, then I explain a little or sometimes … I change the activity. (LHI/1:04:10)

8.10. Professionalism

Nurjahan's commitment to her professional development was clear. In her 10 years since graduating, she had already participated in a large number of teacher development programmes, both as a teacher and teacher educator (LHI, ETI). She appeared to be an eclectic practitioner, mentioning a number of techniques and activities that she had learnt from mentors and workshops, while also providing evidence that she adapted these techniques to her learners' needs and context (PLI1, ETI, LHI). This includes her vocabulary

quest game and her silent reading strategies, both adapted from British Council training workshops (PLI1, ETI), her "thundercloud" strategy to get learners' silent attention (Obs. 29), and her use of meditation to prepare her home class for learning each day, based on a mindfulness workshop she had attended (FI).

She had been selected for her trainer role quite early in her career, while on a British Council training course (ELISS in 2013) and subsequently became a mentor, one of 80, selected from over 400 initial trainers on a state-wide project. Other teacher education opportunities followed, including state-wide initiatives (e.g., CHESS), and a recent mentoring project (ARMS). She was also an active blogger for the British Council and also operated as an "ambassador" for one of India's largest English-language teacher associations, AINET.

During discussions, she revealed the influence of three important personal mentors in her development: a British Council trainer, a senior colleague, and also her uncle, a retired headteacher (see 8.1.2).

8.11. Observer reflexivity

8.11.1. Reactivity to my presence

Nurjahan's learners took approximately 3–4 lessons to get used to my presence. During our first post-lesson interview (after Obs. 13), Nurjahan noted only one perceived impact of my presence, that of higher levels of shyness for some students:

> Some students, I can say, they may be shy to answer, because I told you that, in general, many of them are ready to find a word, raise their hands and tell me the word, and I can see that that number is reduced. (PLI1/27:30)

Nurjahan herself admitted being nervous about my visit, and that during the first few lessons, she remained conscious of being observed. However, as we began to discuss her teaching, she relaxed and from day three onwards, she described this influence as minimal. I noticed no changes in her teaching practices as the observations progressed, except for a slight reduction in her use of English in class. However, two unexpected impacts of the observer effect came to light during our discussions. Firstly, she initially presumed I wanted her to stay on camera during the observations, and visited sections of the class out of view of

the camera less often as a result (PLI2). I reassured her not to worry about this and she began to monitor more widely in subsequent lessons. Secondly, she reflected that one "benefit" of my presence was that she tended to be more focussed with her home class first thing in the morning, moving on to her English lessons earlier than she might otherwise do (PLI5b).

8.11.2. Personal critical reflections on aspects of Nurjahan's teaching

Nurjahan's context, learners and school community are different again to Vinay's rural and Dipika's inner city contexts, although a number of shared practices and beliefs should be evident, some of which linked to contextual factors (e.g., the larger classes she shared with Dipika led to comparable behaviour management strategies) and others to personal beliefs (e.g., her belief in developing learner autonomy shared with Vinay). These are discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

Three minor concerns emerged during my time with Nurjahan, discussed during our final interview. Firstly, in order to scaffold learners' reading skills, Nurjahan relied quite a lot on several text comprehension activity types that ran the risk of becoming repetitive. Even within the constraints she faced, I felt that some lessons could have benefitted from more variety, such as the use of text-based projects, review quizzes or revision games to energise learners. Secondly, on occasion, exam pressure caused her to rush in her grade 10 class. There was less interactive teaching, less checking of understanding, and less use of group and pairwork:

EXTRACT 63: Nurjahan/Obs.15/09:55
T: We don't have that much time to do any pair activity so we will just revise these questions, OK?

Finally, I saw comparatively little free productive skills practice (writing and speaking), despite the fact that her learners were capable of free writing, evidenced from several samples taken during focus group tasks. When we discussed this, she reflected that it was not a focus of the current "textbooks" (i.e., curriculum), also adding that she did more free writing practice "when I'm done with the textbook" (i.e., closer to the exams; FI/11:05).

8.11.3. Respondent validation

Nurjahan provided written feedback on my case description. She was impressed, both by the accuracy of my observations ("I was amazed to see you noticing such minute details of my teaching areas"), and my more critical reflections, which she intended to take on board:

> Regarding your reflection on my teaching, I agree with whatever you have mentioned. Regarding tenth class, I know I did hurry there but that was due to exam pressure and the low response I was getting from them. But I won't ask you to change it in your draft. Regarding other areas, like more creative tasks and avoiding repetition, I've started working on it. (RV/23.02.21)

She felt positive about the whole process, and clearly valued her participation in the project as a motivating force:

> This whole project has widened my experience and shaped my teaching practice a lot. Especially in a place where your strengths are often dismissed and you become the mere victim, something like this project works like a wonder. It has given me confidence to move ahead no matter what comes my way. Henceforth, whenever I'll feel low, I'll always refer to this case description. (RV/23.02.21)

Chapter 9. Cross-case analysis by domain

9.1. Introduction

The three case descriptions above provide detailed portraits of three of the participant teachers (PTs), chosen as representative of the diversity among the eight PTs. As such, they serve to address the first research question of this thesis:

1. What are the features of the pedagogic and professional practice, related cognition and beliefs of eight expert teachers working in Indian state-sponsored secondary education?

This chapter builds on this by offering comparable insight into similar features for the remaining five PTs, but aims primarily to address the second research question as it does:

2. What commonalities and differences can be identified when comparing these features?

It provides a detailed comparison of all eight PTs, covering the same categories and order of Chapters 6–8, but including further quotes and lesson extracts, primarily from the remaining five PTs to ensure that their practices are also represented in some degree of detail. Two primary procedures were conducted during cross-case analysis to arrive at the findings presented below (see 4.6.2):

1. The initial analysis of commonalities among individual cases, for which the comparative spreadsheet and commonalities mindmap (Appendices O and P) were instrumental.
2. The discursive cross-case analysis, which focused on the structuring categories (rather than participants) as an alternative means to interpret the data.

Indications of PTs for whom an evidence claim is made are provided in brackets (e.g., R/S/K = Raju/Shekhar/Kuheli) to offer descriptive validity (Maxwell, 2012a) alongside the extracts and quotes presented to ensure the rich data and thick description expected of rigorous qualitative research (Tracy, 2010). At times, observations of the 33 non-participant (English) teachers (NP[E]Ts) are also referenced for comparison, particularly where a phenomenon observed was less likely to be influenced by the observer effect.

9.2. Beliefs

Several beliefs were identified that were prominent in the discussion of six or more of the eight participant teachers (PTs); two broadly affective (in building self-confidence and engaging learners), three pedagogic (in constructivism, ensuring learner understanding and preparing learners for exams) and one language-related (in involving learners' L1s in the learning process). These were often related and linked to other, less prominent beliefs.

Seven PTs (R/V/G/D/N/M/K) expressed a strong belief in the importance of building learners' self-esteem/self-confidence, both as a means to facilitate language learning and an aim in itself. For three PTs (R/G/N) this was often discussed with reference to the most disadvantaged students they taught. Gajanan discussed the struggle that such learners face in accessing education; Nurjahan (see 8.2.1) and Raju mentioned the importance of avoiding labelling learners:

> So here the society and the teachers maybe they labelled them like they are duller, so they still believe that they can't do this … and because of that lack of confidence they are not doing well, so our main challenge is bringing the confidence to them and making them believe you are real students, you can do anything, like other students. (Raju/ETI/13:42)

Dipika and Manjusha saw building self-confidence as a means both to develop learner autonomy (see 7.2.4), and strengthen self-belief in exam success (see 7.3.3). For Kuheli and Vinay, confidence building helped to increase participation of shyer students in learning:

> So I feel, let me find out what is the comprehension level of the student who has not raised her hand. So sometimes I start with them to give them the confidence that yes, you are on the right track and you are not neglected in the class. (Kuheli/PLI1/6:00)

Closely related to this belief, five PTs also discussed the importance of their learners achieving success in life (R/S/D/N/M), what Dipika called "a larger aim in my teaching" (see 7.2.4). Manjusha and Raju referenced the potential that all students had, and both Nurjahan (see 8.3.1) and Shekhar, often through their teaching, conveyed the belief that everyone has strengths and weaknesses, yet can achieve success:

EXTRACT 64: Shekhar/Obs.19/07:00	
T: *Tyanni tyanna sangitla, ki* every man is unique in this world, *tuzyamadhye pan kahitari asel tut e shodhun kadh,* and then he found *ki tyanchya awajamule te jagaprasiddha zel, vagaire vagaire,* so like *dusare kahi durgun astil tr konamadhye kahitri sadgun nakkich ahet.* So *aapan jar* goal *jivanamadhye uddishat* set *kela tr aapalyala* success *milnar ahe.*	T: *He told him that* every man is unique in this world, *there will be something in you that you should find,* and then he found *that his voice made him world famous,* so like *there are always other qualities, and there is definitely virtue in everybody.* So *your* goal *in life, if you* set *one, you will achieve* success.

Six teachers (R/V/G/D/M/K) expressed a strong belief in the importance of engaging learners in the lesson content/topic and/or the language learning process for learning to happen effectively, also suggested occasionally by the remaining two. Kuheli perceived that such engagement causes learners "to pick up the language and start using it" (Kuheli/ETI/17:45), Raju discussed engagement as a means to "ignite the child" (Raju/ETI/10:55) and Dipika (see 7.2.1) highlighted the importance of engaging disadvantaged or disaffected learners in the learning process, also echoed by Gajanan. For Manjusha the aim was to make the class "live". She wanted them

> to convey whatever is in their mind, and try to tell something about their experiences, maybe it is related with their life, with their parents, with their background, school friends. So I keep asking them about that, some interesting things. At that time the whole class becomes 'live', that means everyone wants to say something, and it never ends and nobody remains silent at that time. (Manjusha/ETI/16:15)

Seven PTs (R/V/G/D/N/M/K) made reference to aspects of constructivism as part of their theory of learning, either directly referencing it (it has been regularly promoted in teacher training programmes in India from the late 1990s; V/D/N/M/K), or expressing beliefs in aspects of it, such as the anti-*tabula rasa* principle (see 7.2.2), the importance of linking learning to learners' lives (7.2.2 and 8.2.2), and social constructivist beliefs in learners' ability to scaffold each other's learning (e.g., G/M):

> They also learn from their groups, their colleagues. For example, when they are working in a pair or in a group, they pick up some structures or some vocabulary also. (Gajanan/ETI/2:10)

Seven PTs (R/S/G/D/N/M/K) discussed the complex relationship between their perceived (constructivist) role as facilitators of language learning, and their responsibility to prepare students for exams effectively (see Goodwyn, 2011, p. 109). While several echoed Dipika's awareness of the importance of the exams for the learners' future (see 7.1.1), they also perceived a conflict between these outcomes (K/M/N/S) and the need for deeper learning. Nurjahan noted that exams "kill their creativity" (8.2.2), and Kuheli refused to adopt what she called a "memorise and vomit" approach (Kuheli/LHI/39:15). Manjusha lamented the almost obsessive focus on "acquiring the grades" (Manjusha/ETI/51:50). Others (V/G/N) perceived that a primary focus on teaching language would prepare them for the exams, a point recognised to some extent by others. However, three PTs (S/D/K; see 7.1.1) also revealed an experientially-informed awareness of a more complex dissonance between underlying language proficiency and exam-specific skills:

> …I have found such students that they were quite strong in English, yet they couldn't score well in exams, and in our exam-driven system of education, it is the score ultimately that matters … So I feel as a teacher it is my objective not only to help them develop that language skill, but also to make the right use of that skill in the exam hall to score well. (Kuheli/PLI5/18:40)

All eight PTs shared a belief in the importance of involving learners' L1s in the learning process (see 6.5.2, 7.5.2, 8.5.2). A number of reasons were given for this belief, including the need to develop their learners' understanding of more complex subject content (e.g., grammar rules, abstract lexis, literary devices) and cognition (e.g., higher-order and critical thinking). For most (R/V/G/N/M/K), this belief related closely to the two affective beliefs discussed above (engaging learners and building self-esteem), noting that encouraging L1 contributions maximised engagement, especially of less English-proficient learners (see 6.5.2) and reduced the "phobia" of English that Nurjahan discusses (8.5.2; also 7.5.2). Two PTs (M/D) prioritised the importance of meaningful interaction and communication above language choice, and were willing to sacrifice an English-mainly approach to facilitate this. Only two (K/S) espoused a belief in maximising "target language" (i.e., English) use among learners but both were also aware of the role of L1 in progressing towards this goal, as Kuheli reflected after one lesson:

> I was trying to make sure that everyone contributes something to the discussion and speaks the target language, but I was not really forcing them to use the target language from the very beginning of the discussion, I was observing what they were doing in the group. And when I saw that, yes, groups were talking about points that

> really matter I would go close to that group and asked them, 'OK, now, yes, your thinking is right, and think how you will say that to me in English'… (Kuheli/PLI3/19:20)

An emphasis on ensuring learner understanding of content was prevalent in the belief systems of seven PTs (V/S/G/D/N/M/K; see 7.2.1). Relationships to six other themes on the commonalities mindmap were identified: two related to languaging practices, specifically translanguaging [2][30] and use of L1 [2] as means to increase understanding. Other related themes include selective curriculum coverage (to allow time to prioritise understanding), questioning and nomination strategies and specific aspects of feedback as means to check and reinforce understanding.

Several beliefs were shared among a smaller number of PTs. When asked whether language learning was similar or different to other types of learning, five emphasised that it was different, discussing the importance of usage and skills practice in language learning (K/M/V/S/N): "it is by doing [groupwork tasks] that they learn" (Kuheli/ETI/02:00, also see 6.2.2), or emphasising the "functional use" of language (N). Four PTs (N/V/M/D) discussed the importance of developing their learners' life skills and learner autonomy or responsibility (see 8.2.3).

Beliefs that were important for just one or two PTs included Shekhar and Dipika's belief in the role of the teacher as moral authority and role model for learners, and Vinay's belief in the importance of rephrasing/processing tasks. Kuheli espoused a belief in task-based learning and Gajanan in fighting social inequality and learning without fear, likely emanating from challenges that he faced growing up as a child from a highly disadvantaged (SC) background.

9.3. Interpersonal practice

9.3.1. Relationships

Observed relationships between PTs and their learners were largely consistent with the two shared affective beliefs in building self-esteem/self-confidence and engaging learners in

[30] Numbers in square brackets in this chapter indicate the number of PTs for whom a relationship was identified on the commonalities mindmap.

learning. Alongside these, all PTs displayed evidence that they enjoyed their teaching, built relationships of mutual trust and respect with their learners and—as a result—had a positive rapport in the classroom. This was linked to extensive knowledge of their learners' needs, which were catered for variously.

There was clear evidence that building self-esteem/confidence was a regular feature of the practice of all PTs, particularly in the supportive personalities displayed in class. More relationships (16) were found between this theme and any other on the commonalities mindmap, highlighting its pivotal role. Positive reinforcement (praise), as the most obvious manifestation of this was common in the lessons of all PTs, although this was rarely gratuitous, more often responsive to individual achievements, and often seeming sincere, sometimes heartfelt (also see extract 37):

EXTRACT 65: Kuheli/Obs.24/32:20
T: (monitoring learners) She has done a good thing, she has made a chart.

EXTRACT 66: Gajanan/Obs.28/28:30
T: (smiling) You have done a very fantastic job!

This praise was sometimes differentiated, with lower achievers receiving praise for minor successes (G/D/N/K).

Self-esteem was also a focus of individual support provided to learners, particularly while monitoring (S/D/N), and bolstered through specific practices such as making intentional errors, often playfully (S/G/M/K; see extracts 72, 77), and even—in Manjusha's case—pretending to lack general knowledge that she knew her learners possessed:

EXTRACT 67: Manjusha/Obs.20/19:40	
T: *Mujhe* needle *me* thread *bhi, daalna mujhe nahi ata*. (SS gasp with surprise) *To kaun hoshiyar hai, me hoshiyar, ki tum hoshiyar?*	T: *I can't even put the* thread *in the* needle. (SS gasp with surprise) *Then who is intelligent, am I intelligent or are you?*
SS: (S3 points at the teacher. All laugh.) *Haa,* ma'am.	SS: (S3 points at the teacher. All laugh.) *Yes,* ma'am.

T: *Nahi, silai ke kaam nahi hai. Silai ke kaam kaun hoshiyar hai, me bhi se zyada?*	T: *No, that isn't sewing. Who is intelligent in sewing, more intelligent than me?*
SS: (several, laughing) *Ham! / Ham* madam.	SS: (several, laughing) *We! / We are* madam.

PTs' strong beliefs in engaging learners in lesson content were also reflected in classroom practices. Links were identified to 12 other themes on the commonalities mindmap, many of which shed illustrative light onto how they did this: through linking lesson content to learners' lives, interests and schemata (see 8.7.7), through their willingness to give learners agency in language choice (see 6.5.2, 8.5.2), through the regular use of interactive whole class teaching strategies (see 7.3.2), and through their use of humour.

The impact of such engagement became apparent through the increasing attendance, participation and seating choices of learners in a challenging new class that Gajanan was teaching at the start of the academic year. Several gradually moved towards the centre of the class during the observation period (see Figures 28 and 29). His post-lesson reflections corroborated this:

> Day by day I feel like, oh, they are progressing now. So that's why I feel very happy with them that they are moving forward. I could also see for example the behavioural changes in Suresh … he was also making comments, "*mojali, mojali*." It means we had fun, we learned so-and-so. (Gajanan/PLI6/28:00)

All PTs regularly displayed evidence that they enjoyed their teaching, with smiling, humour and jokes frequent in most lessons. While jokes covered a wide range of topics, PTs avoided making jokes about learner errors. For example, Kuheli's jokes covered topics such as (imagined) inappropriate use of an informal register (Obs. 4), comic characters (Obs. 14), personal anecdotes (Obs. 17), a school picnic (Obs. 24), groupwork (Obs. 25), apostrophes (Obs. 28) and a crow that regularly visited the classroom window ledge each morning to caw for several minutes (Obs. 12, 21):

EXTRACT 68: Kuheli/Obs.12/13:50
T: Listen to the sweet voice of the crow. He wants to join us. (students laugh) Maybe he has found some similarity with my croaked voice, that's why he has come!

Figure 28

First observation (7) of Gajanan's 9B class (25/07/19)

Figure 29

Final observation (37) of Gajanan's 9B class (07/08/19)

Personal knowledge and understanding of learners were clearly important to relationships (see 8.4.1, 9.7). All eight PTs understood the more general backgrounds, challenges and interests of their learners, sometimes discussing the "backstories" of individuals during PLIs (see 7.4.2) and six had good memories for names, using them regularly in class (see extract 42). In three cases there was clear evidence of what Rogers'

called “unconditional positive regard” (1951) for their students (R/D/M), and while the sources of their “love” (K/N/G/M) or “care/concern” (D/S/R/V) for their learners varied, none were seen to blame their learners for their difficulties during discussions with me or colleagues (see 6.9), instead expressing understanding and empathy (see 8.2.1, 7.4.1):

> If, in their family, broken relationships are there, and these conflicts are there, then it affects their emotions, and the students, they think about, instead of concentrating on the studies and what teacher is saying, their mind is at home, so that becomes very challenging for students and for teachers to divert their mind towards learning. (Manjusha/ETI/42:55)

They also avoided criticising learners in front of their classmates, a practice witnessed in the classes of seven of 26 non-participant English teachers (NPETs) observed.

Particularly evident in several teachers’ (D/V/K) discussion of their relationships with older learners (grades 9–10) was the importance of mutual respect (see 6.4.1) and the need for what Kuheli called “a relationship of trust” (Kuheli/ETI/13:45). At least two PTs saw themselves as role models for their learners (S/D) and three gave regular moral guidance to them (S/D/R). Several provided regular pastoral support (see 7.4.1, 8.4.2), evidence of the close connection between relationships and behaviour management.

The adjectives I most frequently used to describe PTs’ rapport with learners in individual case descriptions included patient (5 times), encouraging (4), caring (4), gentle (4) and warm (3). Likely as a result of this, their learners were observed to contribute regularly to lessons (more so than in lessons of NPTs), including a willingness to ask questions or request individual support, particularly during teacher monitoring of seatwork (see extracts 14, 56), but also at other times. In some classes, they were also willing to challenge each other, even the teacher (Kuheli welcomed this), make suggestions (G/M), negotiate (G/N/K), and even offer jokes (S). For Gajanan this culminated in an approach that he called “learning without fear” (also R/M), which he felt was essential for effective classroom rapport:

> They were feeling at ease in the pairwork.
> JA: Explain a bit more, why?
> They were feeling because they had no fear in the mind that someone is pressurising me to answer it. (Gajanan/PLI6/12:45)

There was also consistent evidence that seven of the eight teachers (R/V/S/G/D/N/K) regularly (and the eighth occasionally) adapted their learning to cater for their learners’

individual needs. This included the provision of differentiated extension tasks for fast finishers that allowed them to spend more time with less able learners (see 8.7.4; also D/K), and also differentiated feedback appropriate to each learner's progress. This occurred mainly while monitoring (see 8.7.5) and giving feedback on written work, including this example, for one of Kuheli's highest achievers:

EXTRACT 69: Kuheli/Obs.27/20:20

T: (approaches student) Tanisha, take. *Jeta paltanor palte dilam.* [*I changed that*.] But for these two, I have just marked because you knew the spelling, and here, I'm not very sure where the sentence starts. 'Later', if this is the starting of the sentence: 'Later, the boat became unsteady', and 'boat were'. Why 'were'? 'The boat clashed with the rising water'. No 'were' is necessary. This way I have just (inaudible). This is a spelling mistake. Check the spelling in the dictionary so that you know the right spelling, check the spelling of 'pleasant', and this one I have directly corrected. OK?

Differentiation was also noticed in language choice and behaviour management (both discussed below). Unlike 12 of the 26 NPETs observed, the eight PTs rarely, if ever, taught to the top of the class (a common practice across India; Banerji, 2019b), and were more likely to plan activities and pitch questions to the mean ability level, leading to increased participation across the class (see 7.2.1, 8.7.6).

9.3.2. Behaviour management

Behaviour management challenges and practices varied among PTs. Relationships to a large number of other themes (13) in the commonalities mindmap indicate that this was an important area of practice, particularly for the three (S/D/N) who worked with large classes. Several of the relationships were to specific challenges, others to preventative measures and others to responsive measures. In the classes of four PTs, inappropriate learner behaviour was rare (R/V/S/K), likely due either to fairly small classes (R/V) and/or established teacher status (e.g., Kuheli as deputy headteacher). For the remaining four, off-task behaviour was sometimes observed and linked to a variety of potential causes. For those working in co-educational schools (R/V/G/N), such behaviour typically involved male learners in higher grades (9–10), many of whom had, for several reasons (principally low attendance), fallen behind in their studies, and, as a result, were sometimes disruptive or disobedient in order to save face in front of peers.

A range of strategies were observed among PTs for both preventing and responding to inappropriate behaviour. Two particularly strong preventative strategies discussed above were the positive rapport that all PTs cultivated and their ability to engage learners in the lesson focus (see 7.3.2). This included drawing on learners' lives and interests to provide examples, engaging them with humour and involving potentially disruptive individuals directly. Gajanan, for example (also see 7.4.2), during a lesson on goal setting, linked the theme to the cotton farming ambitions of a frequently disruptive learner by asking:

EXTRACT 70: Gajanan/Obs.38/29:05

T: How many quintiles of cotton do you expect to get this harvest?

When inappropriate behaviour was spotted, two teachers particularly (N/D) exhibited a range of effective strategies to minimise disruption. Most often, they spotted off-task behaviour early and nipped it in the bud, often through the use of learners' names to provide brief but firm reminders, also seen occasionally in other teachers' classes (S/K/R). For example, at the start of one of Nurjahan's lessons, one boy (Ritesh) received three such reminders, but required none afterwards:

EXTRACT 71: Nurjahan/Obs.21/01:20

T: What should be the first sentence? Bina?

S1: (inaudible)

T: Yeah, sh-sh-sh, can we stop talking to each other? Ritesh? Paris persuaded Helen to run away with him, yeah. And what happened after that?...

S2: (02:05) Paris wanted to take revenge on Troy.

T: Yeah, because of that, because of Paris's action (notices off task behaviour) Ritesh, I hope you will pay attention. Sit properly. (pauses for a second, then continues) And because Paris eloped with Helen...

T: (03:00) Yeah, Greeks sailed to Troy, they sat in the ships, they sailed to Troy, and they laid siege to the city, right Ritesh? (pauses for a moment, then continues)

Also common, especially following repeated misbehaviour, was the practice of giving brief pep-talks to individuals after class (N/G/M), following which improvements were often observed. This avoided the need to humiliate learners in front of classmates, which violated the belief in mutual respect expressed by several. Two PTs (N/R) exhibited a differentiated approach to behaviour management, willing to be more lenient to learners with particular personal challenges (see 8.4.2).

Other strategies tended to be individual and context-specific, such as Dipika's physical and aural presence, which was appropriate both to her own attributes (e.g., a powerful voice) and her context (crowded urban classes). Likewise, Nurjahan's use of homework monitors, a seating plan and meditation each morning was facilitated by the practice of teachers starting each day with 'home classes', not used in all schools.

In the case of two PTs (G/M), disruptive behaviour was observed more frequently, due, in part, to a belief both held in providing learners with more freedom to manage their own conduct in class. The more extensive off-task behaviour that this sometimes led to was, both felt, a price worth paying in order to have more egalitarian, dialogic interactions with learners:

> … if they are learning with their natural surroundings, then learning takes place. If I interrupt them in between under the name of discipline, I stop them, so the learning couldn't take place. Let them do the noise in the classroom, let them do lots of hustle-bustle … because that is also necessary to develop the relationship between them. Then only will they learn what is good and what is bad. (Manjusha/ETI/13:20)

While both also demonstrated the ability to control learners if exuberance got out of hand, less effective behaviour management strategies were also observed in their classes, such as requesting learners who had not been listening to repeat a classmate's contribution, which often took a long time, and caused a drop in lesson pace.

Occasions when inappropriate behaviour required specific sanctions were rare. For example, two teachers (D/R) once asked disruptive learners to stand in their place until they were able to successfully answer a question during whole class teaching. Excluding occasional light slaps (one PT only), physical punishment was not observed, and no examples of exclusion, assignment of extra work, or referral to a senior authority as sanctions were seen, although it is recognised that this may be, in part, a result of reactivity to my presence as a temporary, external observer. Certainly, corporal punishment was widespread in several schools visited.

9.4. Languaging practice

While there was noticeable variation in PTs' own language use choices, all were L1-inclusive in both their beliefs (see above) and practices, prioritising learner participation over

the need to maximise the use of English. All PTs also used their learners' primary L1 at times themselves, particularly when interacting with learners with lower levels of English proficiency. Translanguaging was common for all PTs and the norm for most of their learners when engaged in collaborative learning activities. Written language use, however, involved mainly or wholly English.

9.4.1. Teachers' languaging practices

Significant variation was observed among PTs with regards to languaging practices, influenced both by contextual factors and individual differences in how they taught. Five taught mainly in English, two mainly in 'L1'[31] and one balanced the two (see Table 14). Relationships were identified between their use of L1 and twelve other themes in the commonalities mindmap, indicating that it played an important role for most of the PTs. This includes a very strong link [5] to the theme of scaffolding learning, which was regularly accomplished through L1. Table 14 summarises the purposes for which different teachers made use of L1 in class, also providing averages to reveal commonalities and differences. However, it should be noted that there was also noticeable variation within each PT's language balance, depending on who they were teaching (differences between both classes and learners), what they were teaching (L1 increased in more cognitively challenging lessons), and what activity they were doing (see 6.5.2). Given that, for most, translanguaging was the norm, these complex practices are better understood as a continuum of resource use, from *L1 mainly* (where the grammatical "matrix" [Matras, 2009] was L1, but English resources were occasionally included) to *English mainly* (where English dominated), thus these two terms are used in the discussion below. As such, translanguaging was one of several prominent commonalities among PTs, and is discussed later in this section.

For all PTs, English served as the default written language in materials and on the board, although occasional exceptions included noting translations (S/R) and phonological features of English through L1 (G/N) on the board (see Figures 30, 40).

[31] Actually the school MOI; learners' individual L1s often varied.

Table 14

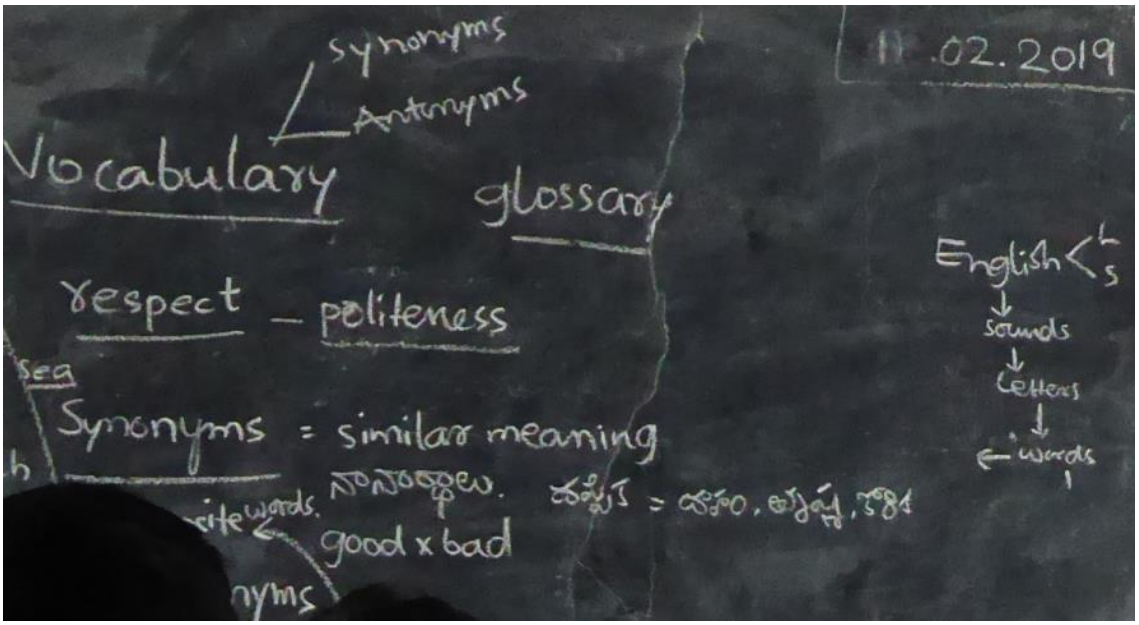
Comparison of teachers' uses of L1

Function	Raj.	Vin.	She.	Gaj.	Dip.	Nur.	Man.	Kuh.	Mean
translation of difficult lexis in text to L1	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2.9
explaining conceptually difficult concepts (grammar, metaphor, etc.)	2	1	2	3	3	3	3	2	2.4
interpreting text content (cross-linguistic mediation)	3	0	3	2	3	3	3	1	2.3
tutoring learners while monitoring	1	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2.3
repeating after English to ensure understanding (e.g., instruction, question)	3	3	2	1	1	3	1	2	2.0
giving advice (e.g., moral, for exams, for homework)	2	2	2	2	3	1	3	1	2.0
administrative (e.g., roll call, school information)	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	1	2.0
formative assessment (e.g., text comprehension questions, CCQs[1])	1	2	2	1	3	1	3	2	1.9
building schemata	1	1	2	2	2	1	3	2	1.8
general classroom/task management	1	1	2	2	3	1	3	1	1.8
contrastive analysis (e.g., syntax, pronunciation)	2	0	1	0	2	1	2	2	1.3
translation to English as a pedagogic exercise	1	0	0	0	2	2	1	2	1.0
written text (e.g., on board, on chits)	1	1	1	2	0	1	1	1	1.0
Average % of L1 used[2]	30%	12%	47%	25%	72%	24%	85%	11%	38%

Notes. Scores were assigned as follows: 3 = frequently; 2 = sometimes; 1 = occasionally; 0 = not observed. 1. Concept check questions. 2. L1 use percentage was calculated as a proportion of total words uttered by the teacher in transcribed lessons (Shin et al., 2020).

Figure 30

Bilingual boardwork including Telugu and English (Raju, Obs. 17, Gr. 6)



Several teachers believed in the importance of providing exposure to spoken English through classroom language (R/K/G), what Raju called "creating an English atmosphere" (Raju/PLI2/09:15). Gajanan also provided simplified spoken stories (mainly from the textbook) as live listening activities. Four PTs (R/G/N/K) also regularly engaged in English mainly chitchat with learners, particularly at the start of lessons on topics such as the weather, their weekend, an unexpected event, or involving more playful language use:

EXTRACT 72: Gajanan/Obs.17/09:55

T: On page number eleven, you have some, see, on eleven, go quickly, page number eleven (claps his hands) on eleven now. *Haa* [*Yes*], what colour is the page? *Patkan, sanga konta ahe.* [*Tell me quickly.*]

SS: Green!

T: Oh, I think brown.

SS: (surprised responses including) No! / Green. / And white. / Green and white.

T: Really? It's green colour? (smiles, faking surprise)

SS: And white.

T: Really? OK, OK. Now, how many sentences are there?

SS: Twelve.

T: Twelve, OK...

All except one PT consciously simplified their English to make it more accessible for learners. English was often used for classroom language (sometimes alongside L1 for

reinforcement; see extract 46) by the five English-mainly PTs (occasionally by the others), and also to provide simple feedback to learners (e.g., praise, reminders; see extract 15). There was occasional use of English to explain unfamiliar lexis (K/N/V) and to explain or elicit explanations of text content (K/V), although these were more often done using L1.

The most common use of L1 was for translation (sometimes elicited) of difficult lexis, either while pre-teaching it (mainly Nurjahan), or while interpreting texts (S/D/R/M/G/N; see 9.6.3). Also common were uses of L1 to explain/elicit/check complex concepts (see extract 30) or text content (see Table 15), and to provide individual support to learners while monitoring (see extract 6). This was sometimes differentiated (G/N/K), involving more L1 with less English-proficient learners, such as Gautam in the following example (Aish was more proficient):

EXTRACT 73: Nurjahan/Obs.21/21:50

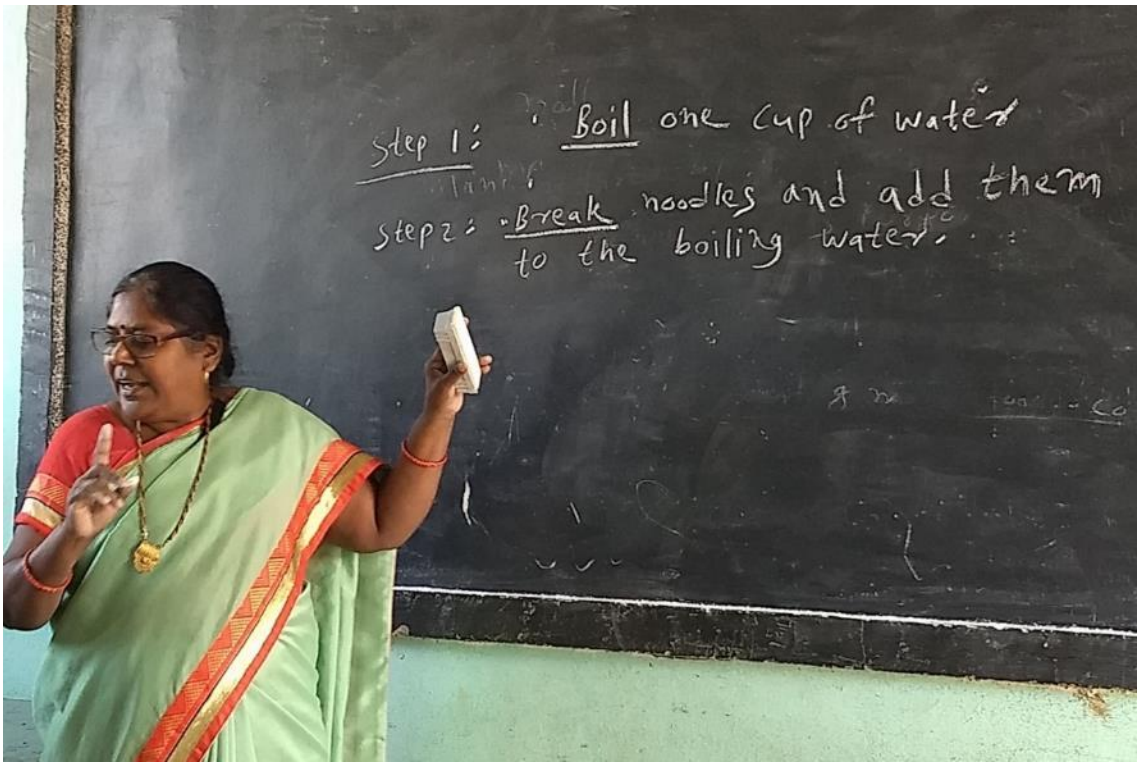
T: Aish done? OK. Show me. Yes. (then to his neighbour) *Gautam, tithe nahi shodhaych. Shevatche tin* paragraph *mhanelela. Sevatacya* paragraph *madhye uttar ahe ani ata tu laksa nahi dila apan bolatana.* Aish, help him please. Don't give your answers. Try, show him where to find. *Kuthe shodhaych te dakhav tyala.*	T: Aish done? OK. Show me. Yes. (then to his neighbour) *Gautam, it's not to be found there. I said the last three* paragraphs*. The answer is in the last* paragraph*, you were not paying attention while we were talking.* Aish, help him please. Don't give your answers. Try, show him where to find. *Show him where to find.*

L1 was also the default language for pep-talks and administrative interactions (e.g., taking registers, school announcements), although note the exception in extract 91 below. Slightly less common were use of L1-mainly for building/checking learners' background schemata/prior knowledge, and for informal formative assessment.

Translanguaging was frequent for all except two PTs (K/V, who translanguaged less often), evident in numerous extracts above and below. As well as the more traditional functions for L1 use in Table 14, this included a number of more complex practices. For example, after eliciting L1 contributions, they would often *scaffold to English*, by translating or eliciting translation of the contribution in English, usually spoken (R/V/S/G/N/M/K; see extract 25), but several (M/S/R) also made use of the board to provide supporting notes in English (see Figure 31).

Figure 31

Manjusha providing supporting notes ("points") as she scaffolds to English (Obs. 8, Gr. 9)



9.4.2. Learners' languaging practice

While all PTs shared L1-inclusive beliefs and practices (see 6.5.2, 7.5.2, 8.5.2), there were clinal differences in how the latter manifested themselves in class. Kuheli espoused a belief in maximising "target language" use, gently encouraging weaker learners to use more English, and putting more concerted pressure on stronger learners to use English during groupwork (i.e., differentiated expectations). Shekhar frowned upon learners' taking notes in L1, but allowed it for pragmatic purposes, and also expected learner contributions during whole class teaching to be in English, noting once:

> …if they give answers in Marathi to my developmental questions, then it carries no point. (Shekhar/ETI/25:40)

The remainder were regularly willing to sacrifice maximal English use to ensure inclusivity and engagement, as in the following example in which Gajanan permits a student to retell an English story in L1 (Marathi):

EXTRACT 74: Gajanan/Obs.12/09:40

T: *Haa* [*Yes*], Sandhya, come. (inviting S1 to front of class)

S1: Sir, Marathi?

T: OK, Marathi, you can try in Marathi first of all. But briefly, *Haa, thodkyat, thodkyat.* [*Yes. Briefly. Briefly*.](T indicates space at front for her to come forward) Come.

Both Shekhar and Kuheli also allowed L1 if they noticed learner difficulties with English:

EXTRACT 75: Kuheli/Obs.22/13:30

T: *Bol!* [*Tell (me)!*] You can speak in Bengali, if you like.

When interacting with each other, learners in all classes most often used L1 mainly or translanguaged. When translanguaging was noted, this typically involved the embedding of key English metalinguistic or lexical resources from a text or writing task into a L1 mainly matrix:

EXTRACT 76: Kuheli/Obs.25/24:30

S1: (composing) We had decided	S1: (composing) We had decided
S2: *Khali khali kaekta* words *er her pher ache* (pause), sentence *eki. Oi bolna* we had decided *ki korechilam*?	S2: *Only some of the* words *are different* (pause), the sentence *is the same. Hey, say* we had decided *what we did*?
S1: *korechilam* (thinking)	S1: *we did* (thinking)
S2: *iccha puroner,* English *ki? Amar iccha chilo* sea voyage *e jabo* (inaudible) *korar jonyo.*	S2: *to fulfil your wish, what is it in* English? *My wish was to go on a* sea voyage (inaudible) *to do.*
S2: I had a wish (inaudible) *tarpor likhbo je or puron hoye geche icchata.*	S2: I had a wish (inaudible) *then we will write this wish is fulfilled.*
S1: *Puron hobe.* (inaudible) *korar jonyo.* I (pause) *korar jonyo?*	S1: *Will get fulfilled.* (inaudible) *to do.* I (pause) *to do?*
S1: fulfil my wish?	S1: fulfil my wish?
S2: fulfil, *ha*, fulfil, fulfil my wish.	S2: fulfil, *yes*, fulfil, fulfil my wish.

The only regular exception to this involved the more English-proficient learners in Kuheli's strongest classes (higher SES learners), who would sometimes conduct group discussions mainly in English.

While L1 dominated spoken language use in class, learners would occasionally elect to use English, even if there was no pressure for them to do so (M/N/D/G/K/V) and there was also evidence, particularly in Manjusha's and Dipika's classes, that learners' translanguaging practices often mirrored their teacher's, in interaction both with each other and the teacher. The following example involves entirely English lexical resources connected through Hindi grammatical resources and word order as a learner responds meaningfully upon spotting an intentional teacher spelling mistake:

EXTRACT 77: Manjusha/Obs.26/27:50	
S1: Ah madam, badminton *ki* spelling wrong *hai*!	S1: Ah, madam, the spelling *of* badminton *is* wrong!

While they completed exercises and composition work almost always in English, learners would make use of L1 for informal notes, particularly on aspects of lexis, either in notebooks, or through annotations to textbook texts (see Figure 25 on p. 194).

9.5. Curriculum coverage and planning

Textbook use tended to dominate most PTs' lessons, although there was evidence of supplementation with other activity types, adaptation to learner needs and some use of TLMs. With regard to planning, this tended to be mainly or wholly mental for most PTs, a fast, automated process with little written planning evident. Nonetheless, evidence emerged that PTs taught less effective lessons on the few occasions when they did not have time to plan.

9.5.1. Curriculum coverage and TLMs

In all three curriculum authorities (Telangana, Maharashtra, West Bengal), given the strong link between textbooks (as the *de facto* curriculum; see 2.3.3) and exams, and the strong emphasis on exam success in PTs' schools, it was not surprising that there was extensive use of the textbook (in over 75% of lessons observed). However, five of the eight (V/S/G/D/K) made use of it selectively; while all covered the longer texts that often appeared in exams as "seen texts", several avoided the subsequent exercises (mainly controlled grammar, lexis and literacy practice) that usually followed. Vinay avoided them altogether (see 6.6.1), Kuheli

frequently skipped easier ones, and Manjusha and Gajanan often found it necessary to simplify or substitute them with easier activities. Twelve relationships were identified between curriculum coverage and other themes on the commonalities mindmap, including several that were causal (low learner interest in school, material that was too challenging for learners and exam washback), leading most PTs to regularly depart from the set curriculum in order to make learning targets more realistic, content more accessible and relevant (through personalisation) and to maximise learner engagement (also see 6.6.1):

> I follow the syllabus and I follow the textbook basically, and I try to make the textbook alive to them, but I don't really teach the textbook. What I try to do is I try to integrate their knowledge about other things, other topics which can be associated with the topic given in the textbook and that way I try to draw them out of their shell, so that they become easy in the class and they start talking about things that they know interest them. (Kuheli/ETI/15:50)

For Dipika, the academic year was heavily structured by the school (see 7.6.1). For the remainder, there were two or three set exams each year, and they were free to structure learning between them. Most PTs were expected to finish the curriculum within the first half of the academic year, and then focus on exam preparation for the second half, although most took a little longer than their colleagues to complete the textbook materials (see 8.6.1); five were observed to progress only when they felt their learners had understood (based on formative assessment, see below; N/R/S/K/D). Vinay and Manjusha also made space for regular project work.

Alternative TLMs were frequently used by two PTs (S/M), sometimes by four (R/V/D/K), and occasionally by two. Shekhar often made use of pre-prepared "chits" and flashcards and Manjusha often used computer-printed materials in her small classes (see Figure 32). Dipika and Kuheli both used supplementary exercise books; Dipika for exam practice and Kuheli for grammar exercises, which were copied to the board as differentiated extension tasks for fast finishers. The remainder were more likely to supplement textbook content with resourceless activities; approximately half of Vinay's lessons were project-based, most of Nurjahan's lessons involved her own text comprehension activities written on the board, and both Gajanan and Raju occasionally improvised listening activities based on textbook texts as well as one-off TLMs, such as flashcards and games (see Figure 33). "Authentic materials" were comparatively rare, used sometimes by two PTs (V/M; e.g., Vinay's use of newspapers) and occasionally by four (R/G/K/N). Educational technology

was important to the practice of only one PT, Vinay (see 6.3.4); of the remainder, four occasionally (R/G/N/K) and one (M) sometimes used their own mobile phone in class to show videos, play songs, or Google information in response to questions and interests (i.e., unplanned use). Two made no use of technology.[32]

Figure 32

Manjusha using differentiated photocopiable resources in small classes (Obs. 26, Gr. 8)

Figure 33

Raju makes use of a chess board and pebbles as TLMs (Obs. 16, Gr. 7)

[32] Excluding Shekhar's hip-mounted voice amplifier.

9.5.2. Planning

Only one of the eight PTs (Dipika) wrote plans for every lesson, a requirement in her school. Two (S/N) sometimes made personal notes or annotations in the textbook that they often referred to in class, and the remaining five rarely or never engaged in written planning for lessons. However, there was clear evidence from observation of PTs, written and spoken discussion, preparation of TLMs, and post-lesson interviews that planning did take place for all, albeit as a mental activity for the majority (see 6.6.2):

> [My planning] contains more reflection, less writing … I just imagine well in advance what I would be doing in class (Shekhar/ETI/30:45).

For most of the PTs, planning tended to occur primarily on a lesson-by-lesson basis, although for three (V/S/M) longer-term planning for projects or extended topics was also noted (e.g., Vinay's projects and Shekhar's 2-lesson cycles, with text interpretation in the first and groupwork in the second).

Observations of the planning process—corroborated during interviews and a think-aloud protocol task—indicated that this involved looking through textbook materials for a given lesson, considering their appropriacy to learners' needs (K/N/D), deciding which activities to cover (D/S/R), and whether to supplement or replace with alternatives (K/M/N/S). For the two who regularly wrote notes, these included specific question items or activities that they planned to use in class (see Figure 34).

Time estimates for planning per lesson ranged between "a few minutes" (Gajanan) and "15–25 minutes" (Shekhar), although these increased when they used bespoke TLMs (M/R/S). Planning occurred both in the staff room (observed for all) and at home (R/S/M/K/N). Three (G/R/K) acknowledged, on occasion, to have done no, or very little mental planning for a specific lesson, due either to workload challenges or schedule changes; differences were usually evident to planned lessons – the latter often involved more cohesive, successful activities.

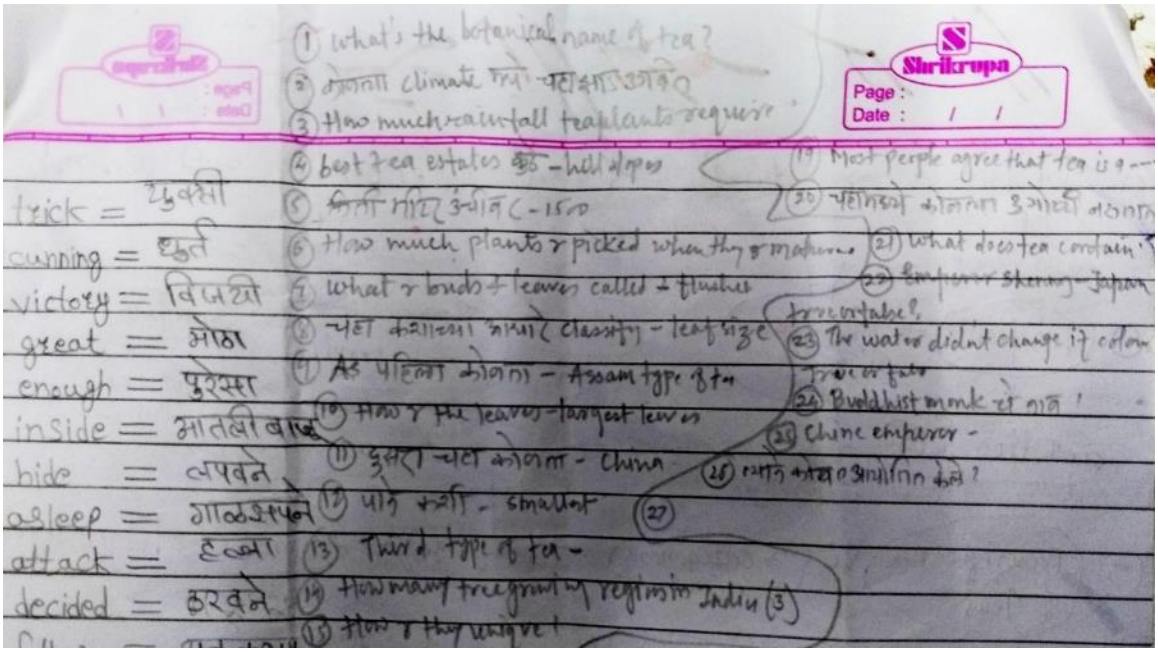
Causative evidence emerged for at least four PTs that planning was made significantly more difficult by two contextual constraints. The first of these was the irregularity of lesson length; in all contexts, school bells were rung by peons whose timekeeping skills varied greatly. As a result, lessons which should have been 35 minutes long varied between 18 and 51 minutes in length (see Figure 35). Similar issues were regularly observed in the lessons of

other PTs and NPTs, all of whom were frequently caught short by the bell, and had to wrap up and give homework hurriedly, or extend a lesson when no bell was rung. On one occasion, Gajanan, upon hearing an early bell for the end of a lesson that was on the literary device of apostrophe provided the following example of apostrophe in irony:

EXTRACT 78: Gajanan/Obs.20/27:00
T: O principal, give me the time!

Figure 34

Shekhar's written notes for a quiz lesson (Obs. 23, Gr. 9)

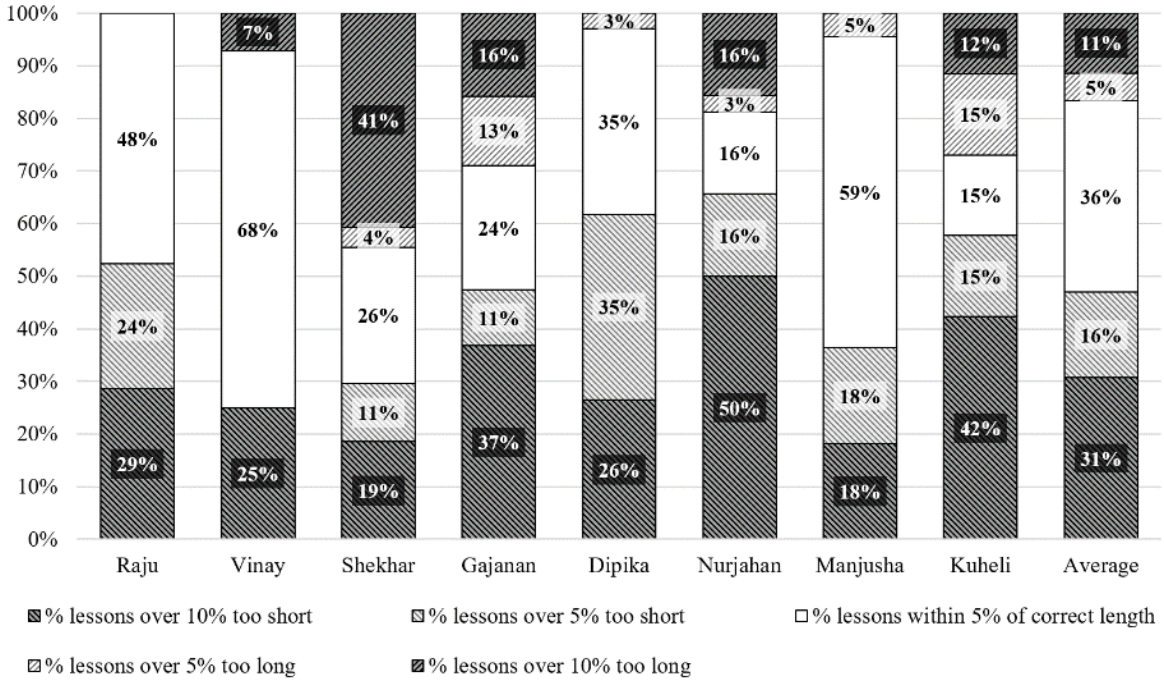


The second contextual constraint influencing several PTs' ability to plan was the difficulty in predicting learner attendance (see Figure 36), which became evident during a think-aloud protocol activity when Kuheli planned two very different lessons contingent on learner attendance:

> I was just thinking how to introduce the story, and if there are only a few students whether it would be right to start the story as such, because I'd be giving, I'm trying to use their schemata, so if only a few girls are there, how appropriate would it be to start the story right away. (Kuheli/TAP/00:40)

Figure 35

Irregularity of lesson lengths in each teacher's school when compared with official timetables



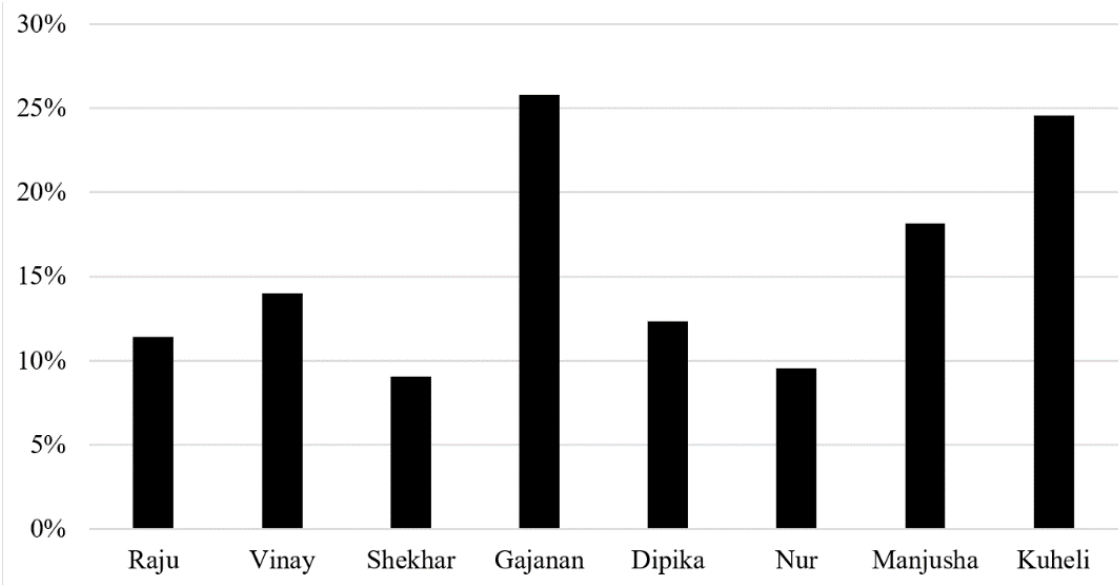
Sure enough, only 15% of the learners showed up for the lesson in question, prompting her to negotiate the lesson focus with the learners:

EXTRACT 79: Kuheli/Obs.22/00:58
T: So, you people tell me what would you like to do? I mean should I start a new chapter, or would you like to talk about grammar, practice grammar. You tell me. What would you like?

When combined, these two constraints often made it difficult for PTs to plan lessons in detail: they didn't know how long the lesson would be, nor how many learners would come. As a result, both in-class negotiation and improvisation were regular for several PTs (see below), particularly the three who had the most unpredictable lesson lengths (G/N/K).

Figure 36

Percentage difference between student attendance means and maximums during the observation period



9.6. Classroom practice

Classroom practice was the area where the greatest variation was observed among PTs (see Chapter 10) although there were still a number of important similarities in this area. This includes regular reviews of learning, negotiation and improvisation for most PTs, the frequent use of both interactive whole class teaching (with regular questioning), and independent activity work, both individual and collaborative. Almost all PTs regularly engaged in active monitoring during activity work, providing individual tuition, answering learner questions and assessing progress. Assessment was principally formative and dynamic, integrated into learning activities, with feedback provided both while monitoring and after activities. Less frequent practices included reading aloud, games and free production activities (monolingual writing and speaking). Notably, rote learning—common across India—was not observed among PTs.

9.6.1. Lesson structure

Several patterns were noted in aspects of lesson structure across the eight PTs. Five (R/S/D/N/K) included frequent reviews of prior learning at the start of lessons, although

these was uncommon for two. Six included regular reviews mid-lesson (R/S/D/N/M/K), and two included regular signposting and schemata building before new topics or texts (N/K). Such reviews most often involved interactive questioning/elicitation (R/N/S/K) as in the following review of a story from a previous lesson entitled "Half the Price":

EXTRACT 80: Raju/Obs.17/02:00

T: So we have completed Half the Price. So have you gone through it *Chusinra eentikellina tharvatha?* [*Have you looked at it after going home*?] Half the price lesson *chadivara?* [*Have you read the lesson* Half the price?] (SS nod) What are the main characters in that?

S1: Fisherman.

S2: Fisherman, gatekeeper.

Multiple SS: (enthusiastically) *Raju* [*King*]!

T: And the *raju* [*king*]. So what we come to know from that story? Who was the wise, wisest one?

S3: Sir, fisherman.

T: Fisherman. Why?

S3: Sir, he… (inaudible)

S1: Two hundred lashes.

T: Two hundred lashes. He asked for two hundred lashes, with the intention of giving the half price to the? (rising intonation)

SS: Gatekeeper!

T: Gatekeeper. OK. It's good. Now turn to page number one hundred sixteen.

Reviews at the end of lessons were uncommon – in at least four cases due to unpredictable lesson lengths (see above). Instead, teachers were more likely to focus on homework tasks in the time available (see extract 9).

Six of the eight PTs (R/V/S/D/N/K) had a fairly small, identifiable number of predictable lesson structures that they followed; for example, a predictable structure to lessons in which texts were the focus (S/N) or practice activities central (D/K). Pace of instruction was noted as "brisk" or "fast" for three (S/D/N), but more dependent on activity type for five, rationalised by Manjusha as follows:

> Always I have to give the preference and space, to give sufficient time to complete the activity for the students, and give their own pace for learning without rushing onto the next task… (Manjusha/PLI4/1:25)

Time on task was high for most, when compared to colleagues; for two, it was somewhat lower, albeit for different reasons sometimes beyond their control (e.g., Kuheli's responsibilities as senior teacher).

9.6.2. Negotiation and improvisation

Both negotiation and improvisation were regularly observed in class. Negotiation (when teachers consulted learners concerning aspects of the lesson content or procedure) was found to be frequent for three (G/N/K), regular for three (R/D/M) and occasional for two PTs. It typically involved the teacher either asking learners for their preferences or responding to impromptu learner requests by consulting the class. While this sometimes included negotiating the lesson focus (G/N/K; see 7.7.2 and extract 79), it more often concerned specific aspects of the lesson; for example, whether learners wanted to do an activity collaboratively or individually (G/N/K), how much time they needed for an activity (R/K), or the order of activities in a lesson (N/K; see extract 49). On most occasions, PTs agreed to their learners' preferences, but not always. Negotiation was justified through reference to developing learner responsibility/autonomy and increasing engagement (G/D/N; also see 8.3.2):

> JA: Why do you negotiate your lessons with the students?
> Because I try to find their demand, what they are interested in, because the students are aware that, yes, we have left that so-and-so question, so I want to make them aware of that curriculum also, the syllabus, and if I go according to their interest, so I think it's better for me as well and for them also. (Gajanan/PLI3/3:20)

On other occasions, negotiation occurred responsively, either to the level of challenge learners were experiencing (G/N/K) or to specific contextual factors (e.g., unpredictable attendance; G/K).

While it is always difficult to assess the frequency of teacher improvisation[33] when observing lessons for which there was no written plan, post-lesson interviews provided opportunities to confirm suspected instances of improvisation, which most often seemed to happen in response to emergent student needs, or an assessment of the degree of challenge of an activity, text or topic (see 7.7.2), but also in response to learner questions or interest in certain phenomena or topics (see extract 83).

Closely related to improvisation, a number of examples of interactive reflection (Anderson, 2019) were detected and corroborated (during post-lesson interviews) for seven

[33] "Improvisation" here refers to occasions when the teacher made changes to their intended lesson focus or activities in order to respond to an unplanned affordance during the lesson.

PTs (V/S/G/D/N/M/K), and confirmed as frequent for at least two (N/K), including Nurjahan's "during class reflection" (see 8.9). The following "stop-and-think" moment (Arendt, 1971) occurred when Kuheli—while assessing her learners' prior knowledge of verb tenses in English—identified a misunderstanding:

EXTRACT 81: Kuheli/Obs.23/07:15

T: (pointing at past simple sentence on board) You think this is past perfect?	T: (pointing at past simple sentence on board) You think this is past perfect?
S1: Yes ma'am.	S1: Yes ma'am.
T: *Accha.* (pauses to think) *Boso* (calmly indicates for S1 to sit down) *Tomader o ki mane haya? Konaṭa ṭhika?* (most SS are silent, none confident to answer) *Accha.*	T: *OK.* (pauses to think) *Sit down.* (calmly indicates for S1 to sit down) *Do you also feel the same? Which is right?* (most SS are silent, none confident to answer) *OK.*

It led to her improvising an impromptu review activity.

It was notable that there was a clear relationship between these three practices – those PTs who engaged in more negotiation also provided evidence of more improvisation and interactive reflection, and vice versa, on a fairly consistent scale across the eight PTs.

9.6.3. Whole class teaching

Whole class teaching (WCT) was a regular feature of seven of the eight PTs' classroom practice. It was usually interactive[34] and often preceded independent learner activities. Relationships were identified between WCT and eight other themes on the commonalities mindmap, most discussed below as specific practices that tended to happen during WCT (e.g., questioning strategies).

For three PTs (R/S/D), WCT was the dominant interaction mode, particularly for text interpretation, which was common in their lessons. In contrast to the text interpretation observed in NPTs' lessons (see 2.3.3), for these three it was a more structured, scaffolded, translingual process. Table 15 illustrates the typical stages in Shekhar's text interpretation (also see 7.7.3), after which he would typically organise a brief groupwork "discussion

[34] i.e. consistent with Campbell et al.'s "whole-class interactive teaching" (2004b)

activity". Four other PTs also made occasional use of text interpretation (G/N/M/K); it was not observed in Vinay's lessons.

Table 15

Typical stages of Shekhar's scaffolded text interpretation with examples

Stage	Procedure	Example extract	English-only translation
1	T leads into text section and/or reviews prior section(s).	T: The boy, the speaker lives in a village. *Eka khedyamadye rahato to. Khedyamadhye* light *nastat aplyala mahiti ahe.* (Obs. 14/5:10)	T: The boy, the speaker lives in a village. *He lives in a village. We know that there is no electricity* (light) *in villages.*
2	T recites, translates and explains a paragraph of the text translingually, using board to note "key points" (lexical chunks; see Figure 40) in English, also explaining literary devices.	T: (continues reading) "If we use that talent" *Jar aapan te* talent *vaparla.* Talent *cha artha lakshat aala ka? Hushari, kaushalya, vishesh gun. Jar aapan to vishesh gun kashasathi vaparla* to set our goal in life. (writes on board) Goal *mhanje uddishta.* (Obs. 19/04:00)	T: (continues reading) "If we use that talent" *If we use* talent. *What is* talent? *Intelligent skills, special qualities. This special quality is used* to set our goal in life. (writes on board) Goal *means goal.*
3	T conducts brief pronunciation drill of key points.	T: *Mhana ekda:* Hope. SS: Hope! T: Feathers. SS: Feathers! T: In our soul. SS: In our soul! (Obs. 15/08:30)	T: *Repeat once:* Hope. SS: Hope! T: Feathers. SS: Feathers! T: In our soul. SS: In our soul!
4	T provides time for learner notetaking.	T: Write down the points from the board within two minutes. (Obs. 21/19:50)	T: Write down the points from the board within two minutes.
5	T asks oral "developmental questions" (closed comprehension questions in either language) on the text to check and consolidate understanding.	T: Where does the father go to work? (some hands go up, T selects S1) *Ha, sang.* S1: City. T: City. To the? (rising intonation) SS: City! (Obs. 14/21:00)	T: Where does the father go to work? (some hands go up, T selects S1) *Yes, tell* S1: City. T: City. To the? (rising intonation) SS: City!

For another two PTs who tended to encourage independent learner reading of texts (N/K), WCT was common both before reading to build schemata and pre-teach lexis (see Nurjahan/7.3) and after reading to elicit feedback, provide clarification and offer responsive teaching (see extract 61). For another three (R/G/M), WCT was often more dialogic, involving two-way questioning (including from learners), text interpretation, impromptu clarification (often using the board) and discussion:

EXTRACT 82: Raju/Obs.13/03:50	
T: (reading from book) "If your *maridi* has *gongurapulsu* (a spicy dish)" (T pauses to check) *maridi* means what, Telugu word? *Maridi ante enti*?	T: (reading from book) "If your *maridi* (younger sister's husband) has *gongurapulsu* (a spicy dish)" (T pauses to check) *maridi* means what, Telugu word? *What does maridi mean?*
S1: (inaudible)	S1: (inaudible)
T: *Maridi ante evaru ?*	T: *Who is maridi?*
S2: *Anna.*	S2: *Elder brother.*
T: *Anna.* Sister's husband, if she is younger, he is called *maridi*.	T: *Elder brother.* Sister's husband, if she is younger, he is called *maridi*.

The eighth teacher (see 6.7.3) made use of whole class teaching sparingly, on five of six occasions to lead learners through audio-visual content, especially as a lead in to lesson topics or specific texts.

9.6.3.1. ***Questioning and elicitation strategies***

The theme most strongly linked to WCT was the use of questioning and elicitation strategies, frequent in the teaching of seven PTs (R/S/G/D/N/M/K)**.** This mainly involved lower-order questioning—typically closed—to check understanding, either during text interpretation (see 7.7.3), or during feedback to independent reading tasks or exercises, although all also asked more open questions sometimes. Higher order questioning was frequently observed in Kuheli's lessons, and sometimes in Nurjahan's and Dipika's. Kuheli also regularly encouraged critical evaluation of texts, for example:

- What was both good and bad? (Obs. 5)
- Was John happy? No? Why? (Obs. 5)
- Why was supplying the wind important? (Obs. 10)
- Was their reaction negative or positive? Negative to whom? (Obs. 10)

- How can a man dream without sleeping? (Obs. 17)
- What thoughts come to your mind? (Obs. 25)

Another theme that was strongly linked to WCT was the constructivist practice of linking learning to learners' lives and experience, common for five PTs (R/G/D/N/K). This included giving or eliciting examples that were familiar to learners (see 8.7.7), linking new concepts to their current schemata (see 7.7.3), or exploiting unplanned affordances to facilitate learning. The following example illustrates this well, when Gajanan shows interest in a photograph that several girls are discussing at the start of a lesson, and uses it to steer them towards his intended lesson focus of word associations:

EXTRACT 83: Gajanan/Obs.28/02:40

T: What is there? Can I see? (approaches three girls tentatively, smiling and showing interest) Can I see what is there? *Baghu shakto me?* (T returns to centre of classroom and shows it to the class). Oh! That's very lovely! See! What is this? *Kay mhanto apan yala?*	T: What is there? Can I see? (approaches three girls tentatively, smiling and showing interest) Can I see what is there? *Can I see it?* (T returns to centre of classroom and shows it to the class). Oh! That's very lovely! See! What is this? *What do we call it?*
SS: (various responses including) Photo!	SS: (various responses including) Photo!
T: Photograph. *Konacha ahe to?*	T: Photograph. *Whose is it?*
SS: (various responses, mainly L1) *Student cha!*	SS: (various responses, mainly L1) *It's a student's!*
T: It's a? (rising intonation)	T: It's a? (rising intonation)
S1: Student's.	S1: Student's.
T: A student's. A student's. (goes to board, writes "student's") Student's. (he circles it) OK. *Haa*. Students are here. Huh? In the centre. *Barobare* (showing on the picture) The students are here in the centre. *Apan asa kam karut ya* students *shi sandarbhat kahi* related words *lihut*. *Haa?*	T: A student's. A student's. (goes to board, writes "student's") Student's. (he circles it) OK. *Yes.* Students are here. Huh? In the centre. *That's right* (showing on the picture) The students are here in the centre. Let's *do one thing, let's write* words related *to* students*. Yes?*

Whole class grammar presentations were also seen, but were infrequent, ranging from 1–5 instances per teacher during the total observation period, sometimes followed by

controlled practice, but never approximating the three stages of the PPP framework.[35] Several teachers were also observed completing textbook exercises in whole class mode on occasions (R/S/G/D), although this was usually less common than through either collaborative or individual independent seatwork, except in Raju's small classes, where he would often lead learners through such exercises himself.

9.6.4. Activities

A notable finding of this study relates to the relatively high frequency of use of independent learning activities among PTs. Activities were only seen in 10 of 40 observations of NPTs,[36] and were frequently rushed through, involving very little time for independent thinking, and only once attempting (very limited) collaboration between learners. In contrast to this, for seven PTs (V/S/G/D/N/M/K), independent activities were a regular feature of their practice, occurring in the majority of lessons, and occasional for the eighth. Most PTs balanced between collaborative (involving pairwork or groupwork) and individual seatwork for activities, often rationalising the need for both. Individual seatwork was justified with reference to the need to prepare learners for exams, and the preferences of some learners (see 8.7.4.2) but also to develop independent thinking:

> I want them to have their own interpretation as well. (Kuheli/PLI4a/10:00)

Formal (i.e., instructed by the teacher) collaborative learning was seen in 45% of lessons observed, and informal (when the teacher allowed learners to work together on activities) in a further 12%, although this varied greatly among PTs (see Table 16).

Relationships were identified between collaborative learning and 13 other themes in the commonalities mindmap, most involving teachers' justifications for collaborative learning, including reference to constructivism, "learning without fear" and the value of peer-instruction (including peer-correction, peer-tuition and peer-support): "peer learning will happen in the group" (Raju/PLI4/10:50). It was also linked to skills development and rapport building:

> [I wanted them to] work in collaboration, develop their rapport, establish rapport between them and always I've experienced that groupwork can become successful

[35] Presentation, practice, production (see Anderson, 2016).
[36] This may be influenced by reactivity to an unfamiliar observer.

and it helps weak students also. At least they keep engaged in the activity, observe what their colleagues, friends are doing. (Manjusha/PLI1/07:30)

Table 16

Percentage of lessons in which formal and informal collaborative learning were observed

	Raj.	Vin.	She.	Gaj.	Dip.	Nur.	Man.	Kuh.	MEAN
Formal group or pairwork only	10%	72%	70%	32%	24%	50%	50%	50%	45%
Formal and informal group or pairwork	10%	91%	78%	45%	44%	63%	57%	71%	57%

Length of groupwork activities varied greatly, from mainly short activities (2–5 minutes) in the case of Shekhar, who nonetheless included these in most lessons, to whole lessons in the case of Vinay's project work and Shekhar's quiz lessons. Group sizes varied, depending on teacher and classroom constraints (e.g., desks or floor space), with bench groups (2–3 learners who shared a bench) common, especially for simpler tasks (G/D/N/K), and larger groups for more extended tasks (example group sizes: 3–6 for Vinay; 4–7 for Manjusha; 5–10 for Shekhar), when some learners would turn round to work with those behind them (see Figure 37) or sit in circles on the floor (see Figures 12 and 38).

Figure 37

Manjusha's learners engaged in small group collaborative learning (Obs. 11, Gr. 9)

Figure 38

Shekhar's grade 9 class engaged in a large group quiz activity (Obs. 9, Gr. 9)

Activity types varied widely among PTs – each tended to have personal preferences. This included silent individual reading of texts (especially N/V, but also K/M) and collaborative text comprehension tasks (V/G/D/N/M/K), the latter often after individual reading (V/N/K). The mantra "talk to your friend" was often heard to encourage collaboration (K/V/N/G/M; see 6.3.2). The use of textbook exercises for controlled practice, vocabulary building and text comprehension activities was also regularly observed (R/S/G/D/N/M/K). Exam tasks were also common, particularly in Dipika's classes, but witnessed in all. Several teachers also frequently created their own activities, including Shekhar's matching, sorting and brainstorming activities, Vinay's and Manjusha's project tasks (see 6.3.1), Gajanan's improvised tasks and Nurjahan's board-written comprehension tasks (see 8.7.4). Two made regular use of TLMs for activities (S/M), occasionally others (R/K/G/V). In the following extract Manjusha instructs her learners to complete a worksheet using a round robin writing strategy to encourage equal participation:

EXTRACT 84: Manjusha/Obs.26/02:40	
T: (showing handout: "All about me") *Tum ek* point *likhna, age* pass *karna. Aise sab larkiyan isme jo jo* point *hai.*	T: (showing handout: "All about me") *You write one* point*, and then* pass *it on. Like that each girl gets one* point*.*

Free production tasks (involving extended writing and speaking opportunities) were observed only occasionally (most often for K/V/G), with learners usually translanguaging during speaking tasks (see extract 76). Several types of differentiation were observed in activity use, including differentiation between groups (see 6.9), Dipika's "conveyor belt" (see 7.7.4) and Nurjahan's and Kuheli's use of extension tasks for early finishers:

EXTRACT 85: Kuheli/Obs.24/32:30
T: If you are done, then, write two sentences using possessive adjective, write two sentences using possessive pronoun, if you are done with the task that I gave you, then you make these four sentences.

Several encouraged peer support as a means to differentiate, with stronger learners encouraged to help weaker ones (V/S/G/D/N/K; see extract 73).

9.6.5. Active monitoring

Another notable finding consistent with the use of independent activities was the frequent use of *active monitoring* during activity work by seven PTs (V/S/G/D/N/M/K). During active monitoring, the teacher would move around the room performing a range of roles while learners worked on activities, either individually or collaboratively. Most common was a tutor role, when the teacher would spend a little time supporting individual learners (sometimes groups), offering positive reinforcement, error correction and short episodes of personalised teaching, often including elicitation and guided discovery (see 7.7.5 and 8.7.5). Also common was a consultant role, in which learners would request and receive teacher support or ask questions (see extracts 6 and 56). Other roles observed included a manager role (e.g., providing time reminders, reducing off-task behaviour) and a formative assessor role, in which, as Shekhar put it, "I always try to dip into their notebooks" (Shekhar/PLI4/10:10) to assess progress. Four PTs (V/D/N/K) often provided what I have called above *ongoing observational feedback* to the whole class in a louder voice, particularly if a common error or misunderstanding was observed (see extracts 15 and 33), never singling out learners as they did this.

Five PTs (V/S/D/N/K) were observed to switch rapidly between roles. In the following extract, Kuheli performs several (tutor, consultant and manager) during just 40 seconds:

EXTRACT 86: Kuheli/Obs.15/23:59

S1: (stands to ask teacher a question) *Katanor* English *kibhabe*? [*How to put it in English*?]

T: (quietly) *Kiser?* [*What*?]

S1: *Chuti katiyechi mane.* [*I spent the holidays*.]

T: Spent the holiday. (moves on, looks at the work of S2) Oh, you have started, good. (moves on, addresses S3, indicating a word in her notebook) This is starting with? What is this letter? How do you, how do you say that? The word?

S3: Occupation.

T: So what should be the article?

S3: An! (self-corrects)

And in the following, Shekhar combines manager, assessor and tutor in rapid succession:

EXTRACT 87: Shekhar/Obs.18/14:30

T: *Vichar karun lava. Vichar karun lava.* Question *kay ahe tumcha te lakshat ghya. Hi chappal sarkav bajula. Zale?*	T: T*hink before placing. Think before placing. Take your* question *into consideration. Set aside those shoes. Done?*
S1: Yes, sir.	S1: Yes, sir.
T: *Thike asude asude asude. Thike ikade paha.* (encouraging them to stand back) OK. *Asach rahude tyala ata.* Change *naka karu* (moves back to middle) *Tumcha kuthay?* (girls indicate) *Ya ikade lavkar.* (then to boy group) *Tumcha zala?* Questions *kuthay tumcha?* OK.	T: *Okay. Let it be. Let it be. Let it be. Okay, look here.* (encouraging them to stand back) OK. *Keep it as it is. Don't* change *it.* (moves back to middle) *Where's yours?* (girls indicate) *Hurry up, come here.* (then to boy group) *Yours done? Where are your* questions? OK.

On one occasion, Dipika provided support to 14 of 26 groups in nine minutes, and Nurjahan gave support to 14 students in eight minutes.

Relationships between active monitoring and eight other themes were found in the commonalities mindmap; mainly teacher beliefs and justifications for the use of this practice. This included the observation that a key feature of the support provided while monitoring was its confidentiality to leaners (see 8.7.5); as Shekhar noted, referring to large class contexts: "It takes courage to ask [about] a difficulty or speak a few words in the class… out of fear they do not ask." (Shekhar/ETI/1:01:05). Other reasons for active monitoring

included to ensure industriousness (G/D/N), to promote on-task behaviour (D/N), to build rapport and confidence (G/S/N), and to provide differentiated tuition (G/N).

In contrast to these practices, on the few occasions when learners were given time to complete activities independently by NPTs, the teacher most often remained at their desk, waiting for them to finish. The only monitoring role observed among NPTs was manager, used either to hurry them along or provide warnings to learners, sometimes for attempting to collaborate: "Who is talking? Speak English in class." (NPTO 39/field notes).

9.6.6. Feedback and assessment

The seven PTs who regularly provided activities to their learners also provided extensive individual and group feedback during active monitoring (see above). However, such activities were also usually followed by whole-class feedback lesson stages during which answers were checked/discussed. This happened mainly through teacher-led elicitation of answers, and either confirmation of correct answers or correction of errors and misunderstandings, sometimes with brief remedial teaching episodes (D/N/K).

There was some variation in more specific practices during whole class feedback. While eliciting answers, both "hands up" volunteering and teacher nomination of learners were observed – the former more common for most (e.g., S/D/N), but not for all (Kuheli balanced the two). Elicitation was occasionally followed by checks for agreement (K/D/N). The board was frequently used by several PTs, when answers required written confirmation (D/N), or literacy levels were low (G/M), although it was also avoided at times to keep pace brisk (D/N/K). Sometimes brief answers were scaffolded into more detailed responses (D/M/K), and sometimes advice or a brief review was provided before moving on (D/N/K):

EXTRACT 88: Kuheli/Obs.24/39:10

T: Very good. So now we know the difference between possessive adjective and possessive pronoun, so if in your exam you have to identify, you would be able to do it.

Dipika also encouraged students to self-correct answers during feedback, and Nurjahan was able to notice, while monitoring, which of the less confident learners had correct answers so that she could nominate them during feedback (see 8.3.5). Manjusha would often act as board 'secretary' at such stages, often scaffolding more limited answers into longer responses on the board. Kuheli regularly exploited whole-class feedback as opportunities for

critical discussion, development of higher order skills, challenges to learners' opinions and more extensive remedial instruction when misunderstandings were identified (see extract 81). Group presentations were the central means through which Vinay provided feedback to his learners, and were also used occasionally by other PTs (S/G/N/M/K); such feedback would include direct correction, suggestions for improvement (e.g., in future drafts), peer feedback (especially praise), and when questions/items were more closed (e.g., Shekhar's group presentations), teacher confirmation of correct answers.

9.6.6.1. ***Corrective feedback***

Oral and written corrective feedback (CF) of learner English was provided by all PTs, both while monitoring activity work and during whole-class feedback, although two PTs (M/G) preferred to avoid whole class CF for concern of negatively impacting learner self-confidence. Particularly with regard to written work, CF occurred mainly while monitoring seatwork/groupwork (see, e.g., extract 86), but also through marking of exercise books (e.g., R/S/D/N/K), and occasional (often elicited) correction of learner boardwork (see extract 92). Oral CF was most evident during whole class teaching and focused on pronunciation (most common), lexical choice and grammar usage:

EXTRACT 89: Raju/Obs.12/04:05

T: (eliciting answers) Next?
S1: Hide seek.
S2: Hide seek.
T: Hide and seek. Hide and? (rising intonation)
SS: Seek.
T: *Tarvata?* [*Next*?]

EXTRACT 90: Kuheli/Obs.24/06:10

T: OK. A piece of rock or stone has? (rising intonation)
S1: Has rough (/rɒf/) surface.
T: Rough surface. (correcting pronunciation)
S1: Rough surface and uneven corners.

Oral CF strategies varied; most tended to involve immediate, direct reformulation (R/V/S/K; as in the previous examples). Conversational recasts (R/N/M/K; see extract 62), and the use of metalinguistic cues (N/K) were also regularly observed, although negotiation

for meaning was rarely required; because of the multilingual practices involved, it was more often replaced by what might be called *translingual negotiation*, as in the following example that also includes conversational recasts in the teacher's third and final lines:

EXTRACT 91: Raju/Obs.19/04:40

T: (collecting register) Eighteen?	T: (collecting register) Eighteen?
S1: Absent.	S1: Absent.
T: *Entra, Shashi Vardhan* regular, *vachhe vaadu vastalledu?*	T: *What, Shashi Vardhan, the one who comes* regularly *is not coming?*
S2: Go to village.	S2: Go to village.
T: Ah, he went to village? For, for what?	T: Ah, he went to village? For, for what?
S2: His grandmother.	S2: His grandmother.
T: His grandmother?	T: His grandmother?
S3: Marriage. Marriage!	S3: Marriage. Marriage!
T: His grandmother's marriage? (students laugh)	T: His grandmother's marriage? (students laugh)
S2: No, no!	S2: No, no!
S3: Marriage.	S3: Marriage.
T: Whose marriage?	T: Whose marriage?
S2: *Chuttalu.*	S2: *Relatives.*
S4: *Sodari.*	S4: *Sister.*
S1: *Emantaaru?*	S1: *How do we say that?*
T: Ah, his sister's marriage.	T: Ah, his sister's marriage.

In contrast to NPTs, who were more likely to combine CF with criticism (e.g., "I have many times told you", "it's your bad habit"; NPTO 13/field notes), criticism was never observed among PTs, who frequently demonstrated sensitivity through a range of means, such as combining correction with praise, by involving humour, or simply by correcting swiftly and moving on:

EXTRACT 92: Gajanan/Obs.28/14:05

S1: (writing 'verds' on board) Verbs.

T: Verbs, OK. In the books there are verbs. (T spots mistake, approaches board with chalk, and quickly corrects) That you wanted to write, no?

Only three PTs were occasionally observed to provide less sensitive correction by dwelling unnecessarily on an error.

Peer correction was also encouraged by several PTs (S/G/K/N), including through quiz activities and peer monitoring (see Figure 39; also extract 73); it was also allowed or elicited during whole class feedback (G/M/N/K; see extract 60).

Figure 39

Three learners provide monitoring support to peers while Gajanan provides tuition to one learner (Obs. 22, Gr. 9)

9.6.6.2. ***Assessment***

Assessment practices observed among PTs were almost entirely formative and usually fully integrated into their day-to-day teaching, feedback provision and personal reflection (i.e., dynamic assessment; Poehner & Lantolf, 2005), rather than discrete practices (see Nurjahan/PLI1/03:40), as this quote from Manjusha's reveals:

> I'm growing with my students.
>
> JA: What do you mean by that?
>
> That means when they give me positive responses, so that positive response means that is the impact of my teaching, or a reflection of my teaching I see in them when they give me right feedback, when they work properly. So that helps me to grow, myself. I'm learning from them what they need, what type of language support they want, and what type of learner they are. (Manjusha/ETI/1:05:10)

Exceptions to this (i.e., discrete assessment activities) include Shekhar's use of quiz lessons (Obs. 9, 23) and the more summative progress tests that Dipika and Raju were required to administer.

Formative assessment practices were deemed central to the teaching of five PTs (V/S/D/N/K), regular for two (G/M) and occasional for one and linked to five other themes on the commonalities mindmap, most of which shed light onto specific strategies used for formative assessment, most already documented above. This included nomination strategies (e.g., targeted nomination to assess the learning of less confident learners; see Kuheli/PLI1/6:00 in 9.2), questioning strategies used particularly to assess text comprehension (see 7.7.3), active monitoring (when assessment of content understanding most often occurred; see 8.9), and use of L1 to check understanding (also see above):

> The moment I used mother tongue to clarify the language of instruction, they could come out with the right answer. So that means they had comprehended [the text]. It was because of the language of instruction they could not answer properly. (Kuheli/PLI5/06:50)

9.6.7. Other practices of note

9.6.7.1. ***Shared frequent practices***

Four PTs (R/S/D/N) regularly engaged in reading texts aloud (common across India), mainly during text interpretation (see extract 52, when learners request this), and two (R/M) sometimes encouraged learners to read aloud as part of their literacy development. The remainder only occasionally engaged in reading aloud and usually only on the requests of learners. In several classes (K/N/M) learners also volunteered to read out instructions for activities, which they enjoyed doing.

A number of PTs (especially D/G/R) made use of a discourse practice common across India (Sarangapani's "teachering device", 2003) and also in sub-Saharan Africa (Chick's "safe talk", 1996; Probyn's "oral cloze", 2019), in which a teacher would use rising intonation towards the end of a sentence to elicit the last word or phrase from learners. Among PTs this had several uses, including to simplify question forms (see extracts 80 and 90), to encourage repetition of a key phrase (see "Hide and?" in extract 89), and on other occasions as a more legitimate check of understanding (see extract 30).

Games played a regular role in the lessons of only two teachers: Nurjahan and Gajanan, including Nurjahan's word-search game and Gajanan's use of mingle games such as 'find your partner', and simple guessing games. For the remainder, only 1–5 instances of the use of games was noted (e.g., rub-out-and-replace, quizzes, and first-to-finish games). This avoidance of games was generally consistent with the espoused preferences of most learners during focus group interviews. In all contexts except one (Manjusha's), they ranked "plays games with students" lowest or equal lowest of ten qualities of a good teacher, often explaining during follow-up interviews that they could play games outside school; lessons were for study.

Pronunciation drills were frequent in the classes of only two PTs (S/N); both used them when teaching new lexis. In other classes they were used sometimes (M), occasionally (R/D) or not observed (V/K).

9.6.7.2. ***Shared occasional practices***

There was some evidence of learner training in study skills for four PTs (N/V/S/K), with Nurjahan especially linking this to opportunities to develop learner autonomy. Several provided advice regarding how learners should organise their study resources, particularly notebooks (V/S/K), what resources they should bring to school each day (N/K) and advice for completing homework (V/K). Some evidence of learner training was also evident in classes that were new to the teacher, especially noticeable during observation visits occurring at the start of the academic year (D/K/V/G).

While controlled writing tasks were common in the lessons of all PTs, extensive, free writing was only observed regularly in the lessons of two PTs (V/K), occasionally for two (D/M), rarely for another two (G/N), and was absent for two (R/S), although several stated that they made more use of writing tasks nearer the exams (R/S/D/N).

Although collaborative discussion activities were fairly common, there was little evidence of PTs planning for and including activities specifically to practise English speaking skills. In practice, discussions were usually either translingual or in the learners' L1 (see 9.4.2), with only a few occasions observed when groups of more proficient learners elected to use mainly or only English, especially in Kuheli's classes, where she encouraged this, but also in Vinay's and Nurjahan's. Only one lesson observed among PTs involved a successful English-mainly speaking fluency practice activity (an onion ring discussion that Vinay used with two merged classes), although Gajanan also tried similar activities on

several occasions with limited success. Neither speaking, nor listening skills are tested in the exams in any of the curricular authorities involved.

9.6.7.3. ***Absent practices of note***

Rote learning, often discussed as common in Indian classrooms (MHRD, 2020; Sarangapani, 2003), and seen in the lessons of several NPTs, was not observed in the classes of PTs.

9.7. Knowledge

Participant teachers' knowledge of subject, learners, their context and the curriculum were generally extensive and well-integrated with their practice and beliefs (33 relationships were identified between areas of knowledge and other themes on the commonalities mindmap); there was clear evidence of well developed PCK, alongside high procedural proficiency in English for all eight PTs.

As well as having full, functional proficiency in other languages used in their local community and school, all participant teachers were proficient in English. If assessed on the CEFR, they would likely fall within the C1–C2 range,[37] with particularly well-developed lexical knowledge and reading skills in most cases. For two PTs, lower levels of speaking fluency and occasional differences in verb agreement and article usage from standard Indian English (e.g., Sailaja, 2009) were noted during conversation, although their functional proficiency comfortably sufficed to provide appropriate input, instruction and support to their learners. The 26 NPETs' English proficiency varied more, estimated at B1–C2, although two observed were noticeably lower.

In several cases, it was possible to assess the extent of PTs' knowledge of English lexis through their ability to respond to learner questions or unplanned affordances during class; for example, Kuheli's ability to translate or paraphrase low-frequency items such as "squall", "capsize" and "thrice" without prior preparation, upon request from her learners:

[37] This was confirmed for Dipika, who scored in the C2 band on an international test.

EXTRACT 93: Kuheli/Obs.14/05:25

S1: Ma'am (hand raised) 'Thrice' and 'flung'. What is the meaning of 'thrice'?

T: 'Flung'? 'Thrice' means three times. Like two times twice, three times thrice, and 'flung' means to throw with a force, *chure phele deowa* [*throw away/to the wind*].

Or Raju's awareness of permissible suffixes in response to learner questions during a matching activity:

EXTRACT 94: Raju/Obs.20/10:40

T: This suffix '-ment' won't go with calm. So we have to write calmness.

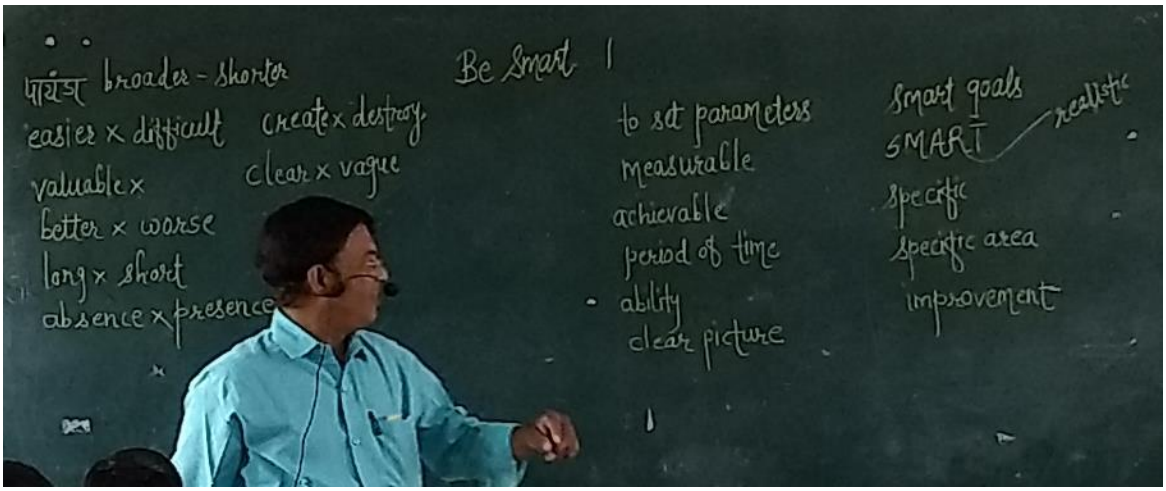
Evidence of creativity in activity types was one of several indications of a well-developed PCK on the part of all PTs, including, for example, Gajanan's use of concept mapping devices, Manjusha's creative ideas for project work, Nurjahan's original strategies to pre-teach lexis, and Shekhar's creative use of bespoke "chits" for collaborative learning. Both Shekhar and Nurjahan also regularly taught lexical chunks, set expressions and collocations (see Figure 40) alongside discrete items, despite neither being familiar with Lewis's lexical approach (Lewis, 1993) – likely evidence of the independent development of their PCK. Relationships were identified between PCK and eight other themes on the commonalities mindmap, including a strong relationship [4] to negotiation and improvisation in class. For example, occasions were observed when PTs were able to respond to learner difficulties or confusion by providing impromptu, level-appropriate clarification in areas that they could not have planned, including improvised interactive reviews of neither/nor structures (Nurjahan), exclamatory sentences (Dipika) and auxiliary verbs (Gajanan). Nonetheless, at times, the repetition of certain activity types also indicated that some aspects of PCK could develop further, notably among the two least experienced PTs (R/N; see 8.11.2).

While there was variation in PTs' ability to remember the names of individual learners (see 6.4.1), all demonstrated extensive knowledge of the prior learning, levels of English and needs (both affective and cognitive) of their learners as groups and six were evaluated to have extensive knowledge of them as individuals also (see 8.2.1 and 7.4.2). This revealed itself throughout their practice, particularly interpersonal (see 6.4, 7.4, 8.4), their reflections

on specific learners during post-lesson interviews (discussed below) and also through specific strategies that they had developed to teach certain aspects of language – evidence of the close link between their knowledge of learners and PCK. This was apparent, for example, in Vinay's only explicit language lesson (see 6.6.1), and in Dipika's original method for teaching forms of the verb 'to be' (see 7.8), that she reflected afterwards was experientially developed (Dipika/PLI7).

Figure 40

Shekhar often taught noun and verb collocations as well as set expressions (Obs. 21, Gr. 10)



PTs' knowledge of learners was also closely linked to their detailed knowledge of the curriculum, textbook and examination content. During post-lesson interviews several commented on future texts or activities in the textbook, correctly predicting learner difficulties with these (e.g., Kuheli's concerns about a specific text: "The book of nature"), also showing awareness of ideas for adaptation of textbook content (V/S), and knowledge of specific areas of grammar (D/K), and lexis (e.g., "pupil" in 8.8) that their learners had not yet studied.

Given that all PTs had Master's degrees in English literature, most had extensive knowledge in this subject area of the curriculum; all were able to clarify aspects of literary devices ("figures of speech" in India) to their learners, drawing on L1 and prior schemata through translation, explanation, comparison and analogy (e.g., Gajanan's comparison of an English poem to a Marathi song; Obs. 20). However, it was notable that only three (R/S/M) exhibited a clear passion for literature, evident in the following extract:

EXTRACT 95: Shekhar/Obs.14/12:30	
T: The boy is the speaker in the poem. *Sundar varnan kela ahe, sundar sharmanni.* (he then reads from book) "I want to sow many small, small moons of light." *Sundar. Chote chote chandra mala perayche ahet.*	T: The boy is the speaker in the poem. *Beautifully described, beautifully expressed.* (he then reads from book) "I want to sow many small, small moons of light." *Beautiful. I want to sow a small, small moon.*

Several also demonstrated a well-developed PCK with regard to literature studies, such as Manjusha's scaffolded teaching of rhyme schemes (Obs. 15), which were a common examination focus:

> First I ask them to underline the last word of each line, and I write it on the black board, and the second stage I use the rhyme scheme, how to collect the rhyming pairs and then decide the rhyme scheme, so step by step they become very familiar with rhyme schemes in a stanza. (Manjusha/PLI2/11:20)

While gaps in PTs' subject knowledge and language proficiency were rare, they were noticed on occasion (as happen for all of us), such as a lack of awareness of how to pronounce low-frequency lexical items (e.g., "martyr", "apprenticeship"), or unsureness regarding whether certain affix combinations were correct (e.g., "small-ness"). One PT also made several spelling mistakes writing low-frequency lexical items on the board (e.g., "almond" spelt as "almont").

9.8. Reflection

Six of the eight PTs (V/S/D/N/M/K) regularly demonstrated the ability to reflect[38] extensively and fluently on their practice, evidenced mainly through post-lesson interviews, but also informal discussions and longer interviews. The remaining two also reflected, but less extensively and often required more prompting. All eight were able to identify specific strengths and weaknesses in their lessons (see Nurjahan/PLI1/03:40), and several were also able to assess achievement of specific intentions in detail (see 8.9), sometimes differentiated

[38] Defined here following Anderson (2020a, p. 480): "conscious, experientially informed thought, at times involving aspects of evaluation, criticality, and problem-solving, and leading to insight, increased awareness, and/or new understanding."

(see 6.9). On several occasions, PTs identified and justified differences between the planned and taught lesson, often through reference to learners' challenges and needs:

> Always I have to give the preference and space, to give sufficient time to complete the activity for the students, and give their own pace for learning without rushing onto the next task, so let them learn by their own speed. (Manjusha/PLI4/01:25)

While three PTs were more often satisfied than dissatisfied with lessons (G/S/V), five were more often self-critical in their reflection (R/D/N/M/K), including evidence of emotional involvement, perceived personal shortcomings and learner difficulties (see 7.9).

When asked to select and reflect on the learning of an individual student in the class, those that were most self-critical were also more likely to choose a weaker learner (N/D/K), and discuss in more detail the extent to which that learner participated and learnt, often with reference to specific interactions during the lesson (see 8.9). Those that were more likely to choose stronger learners (V/R) often provided less detailed evaluations:

> JA: … how did the lesson go for her?
> Yeah, good. She understood and she responded very well, and she came up with the story also, when we talked about change, the transformation. (Raju/PLI1/15:40)

Three teachers (N/M/K) also often discussed their interactive reflection (see 8.9), justifying choices they made through reference to learner challenges, preferences, interests and affordances, as Gajanan noted when he discussed the photograph incident (extract 83):

> Actually I had planned that I should write some words and then I had planned to brainstorm … with the help of a web [mindmap], but that girl, I could say very lucky that she was hiding that photograph, and I had two intentions there, to control the classroom, and to control it in a constructive way, for example, taking the same resource, the same photograph, so that she should have some personalisation, personal experience with that photograph … I tried to establish some connection with that photograph and that girl. (Gajanan/PLI6/18:15)

Relationships were identified between reflection and nine other themes on the commonalities mindmap, including several in their professional practice: a commitment to continuous learning, the challenges presented by isolation from like-minded professionals (which underpinned Vinay's belief that isolated teachers need "introspection"; see 6.9) and the desire to receive "feedback" from me (see below). It was also related to the practice of catering for the needs of all their learners and keeping learners engaged (see 7.2.1).

9.9. Professionalism

A number of notable similarities among PTs with regard to their professionalism should be treated with caution, given that, in the absence of other reliable indicators of expertise, one of the criteria for selection of participants in this study was an active engagement in CPD and another was experience as a teacher educator. Thus, the fact that all eight had extensive experience as teacher educators, and all were noted to engage actively in their CPD should be considered results of this, rather than findings. These two criteria are likely also to correlate causally with other, CPD-related findings, such as their participation in local, national and international teacher associations, and a shared enthusiasm for networking (R/V/S/D/N/M/K). Other similarities and one difference in this area are nonetheless of potential interest.

A finding of note within the professional domain relates to a difference in their career paths to becoming a teacher. While for several PTs, their career choice seemed largely a product of destiny ("I feel I am not a teacher by accident. It was my passion that made me a teacher."; Shekhar/ETI/1:15:00; also see 8.1.2), others indicated that they had arrived at their profession as a second or third choice, only after other doors had closed (see 6.1.2, 7.1.2) or they had been steered in this direction:

> Interestingly in my interview from public service commission, the people on my interview board after interviewing me, they said this is not your job, you should go to academics. (Kuheli/LHIa/17:40)

A notable catalyst in galvanising their identity as teachers and teacher educators discussed by six PTs was the importance of specific training courses or workshops as transformative events (V/G/D/N/M/K). This includes Dipika's mention of two courses that caused her to become serious about teaching and enrol for her MA (see 7.10), several British Council training events for Gajanan, a visit to a Regional Institute of Education (RIE) and Fulbright Scholarship to the USA for Vinay (see 6.1.2), and, for Kuheli, a Hornby Scholarship to the UK and a pivotal training programme early in her career, of which she noted "those three days changed my life" (LHIa/51:35).

Nonetheless, the most notable area of similarity that does not result from the above shared features is the one that is likely a causal influence on them all, and relates to the source of their motivation as professionals. There was extensive evidence that self-

motivation underpinned many PTs' commitment to their professional competence (R/V/S/N/M/K) and related closely to a further similarity – a strong sense of responsibility to their learners, expressed as a duty to "serve" their students (R/S/G/M), or a perception of their learners as their primary evaluators (R/S/G/D/N/G/K; also see 7.10):

> JA: Whose opinion is most important to you as a teacher?
> As a teacher, students' opinion. (Gajanan/1:37:34)

> We are here to serve the children. Let the children know that we are together, teamwork. (Raju/ETI/38:15)

> An effective teacher is one who is with the students on his last day of his retirement, that's my belief, to die in harness.
> JA: What do you mean by that?
> Keep yourself busy till it's the last day of your job. Then you can proudly say that "I was with my students". (Shekhar/ETI/1:14:00)

This commitment to learners was potentially particularly important because of the indication by several that they had had to develop largely in isolation from like-minded professionals for much of their career (V/S/K); few had ever been observed teaching before my visit, and those that had, had received only cursory feedback on their teaching, if any.[39] This was likely why five PTs, without my suggesting it, specifically requested feedback from me on their teaching:

> JA: …do you mean that it would be useful if I give you some reflections on your teaching?
> Yes, yes, because if you've observed some weaknesses, that is necessary for me as a teacher educator, as a teacher researcher, to grow, myself, and to understand me well. (Manjusha/ETI/22:20)

9.10. Conclusion

This cross-case analysis has found a large number of similarities among the PTs. With regard to cognition, clear evidence emerged of extensive subject and curriculum knowledge tied together through a generally rich PCK and awareness of learners' needs and backgrounds, as well as tendencies in most towards fluent, critical reflection on their

[39] One senior observation that coincided with my visit resulted in no feedback to the teacher.

practices. Strong beliefs, particularly in building learner self-esteem, engaging learners, and ensuring learner understanding were mirrored in the classroom by close relationships of trust, evidence of enjoyment and regular positive reinforcement and encouragement, often supported by effective behaviour management practices (particularly for those who taught large classes) to prevent disruption.

While there were clear differences in PTs' balance between languages used in the classroom, all were proactively L1-inclusive and flexible in response to learner need, regularly translanguaging as they facilitated a gradual, scaffolded movement towards increased understanding and use of English among learners. Planning was observed to be ostensibly mental and fluent, although this also varied both among PTs and between lessons.

With regard to classroom practice, while whole class teaching tended to dominate for most PTs, this was invariably interactive, involving questioning, elicitation and scaffolding techniques that built on learners' prior knowledge and linked closely to their lives and schemata. It was supplemented by the regular inclusion of independent learner activities, both individual and collaborative, during which PTs typically engaged in active monitoring to provide individualised, responsive tuition, feedback and guidance. Assessment practices observed were primarily formative and typically integrated into both whole class teaching and monitoring support. Lesson structure varied among PTs, although many had a small number of frequently used structures, most integrated regular review activities and were able to negotiate aspects of lesson content and activity dynamics flexibly with their learners, improvising when appropriate to cater for emerging learner needs and challenges.

Nonetheless, this summary, focused as it is on similarities across the cases studied, belies important differences among them, particularly with regard to classroom practice that were often closely related to contextual constraints and affordances as well as beliefs – these are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 10. Analysis of difference

10.1. Introduction

Given the differences in their personal backgrounds, teaching contexts and curricula, the many commonalities among PTs discussed above constitute important findings. These were particularly evident in their beliefs, their relationships to learners and their professional practice. It was also possible to identify key global similarities in pedagogic practice (e.g., use of activities and active monitoring) and languaging practice (e.g., L1 inclusivity), particularly evident when compared with NPTs. However, in both these areas, many important differences were also documented and often found to vary clinally among PTs.

This chapter explores these differences to answer the second part of the second research question of this thesis (What *differences* can be identified when comparing the PTs?). It does so through the comparison of two key variables that were able to account for the majority of the most apparent differences observed among the PTs, evidence of what might be called *contingent causality* – not robust enough to be confirmatory, but both evidenced and plausible as means to understand the diversity of practices found. This chapter also serves as a bridge between the findings and discussion sections of this thesis, introducing key theoretical references in the wider literature to do so.

10.2. Framework for analysis

To provide a framework for understanding differences among PTs, I identified two fundamental features of their cognition and practice that seemed to vary clinally among them. The first of these was their Conception of Subject (CoS); how their varied understandings of "English" manifested themselves both during our discussions and through their classroom practice. CoS seemed to vary clinally between those PTs who tended to both view and teach English more as a "subject" (TEaS), and those who viewed and taught it more as a "language" (TEaL). The second feature can be called the Degree of Control (DoC) that PTs exerted on the learning process, classroom interaction and learner behaviour; this varied quite substantially from those who retained a much higher degree of control to those

who were more likely to cede this control to their learners. To some extent, these two key areas of difference correspond respectively to Bernstein's key constructs of *classification* and *framing*, both of which Bernstein perceived could vary clinally from strong to weak (e.g., 2000, p. 5–7), although I will discuss them as CoS and DoC – constructs that were moulded primarily by the data.

Drawing on Miles & Huberman's (1994, p. 91–92) construct of graphic "data displays" as a means to understand large qualitative data sets, Figure 41 depicts graphically my assessment of the "location" of each PT on a two-dimensional field created by the juxtaposition of these two "variables" (scores assigned were from 0 to 3 based on comparative spreadsheet data). On the X axis (Conception of Subject), difference varied from the practices of Vinay, who was observed to teach English more as a communicative system, to the practices of Dipika, who taught English more as a body of declarative, explicit knowledge with a focus particularly on use in exams. Neither of these is framed as "better" or "worse" here; both can be seen as appropriate means to achieve context-specific outcomes (see their respective chapters). Other PTs were perceived to vary between these two positions. For comparison, the CoS of the 26 NPETs[40] observed was perceived to be ostensibly TEaS-oriented, in many cases stronger than Dipika's (see grey shaded area on Figure 41), and no NPETs were observed who taught English as language to the same extent that Vinay did. On the Y axis (Degree of Control), difference varied from the practices of Gajanan and Manjusha, who both exhibited comparatively little control of the type typically associated with teachers, to the practices of Shekhar and Dipika, who both exhibited more control. Just as for CoS, neither more nor less control is discussed as "better" or "worse" here. NPETs were perceived to be closer to Dipika and Shekhar's DoC on average, and a number consistently exhibited more control than either of these two (grey background area). None were observed who exhibited as little control as Gajanan or Manjusha.

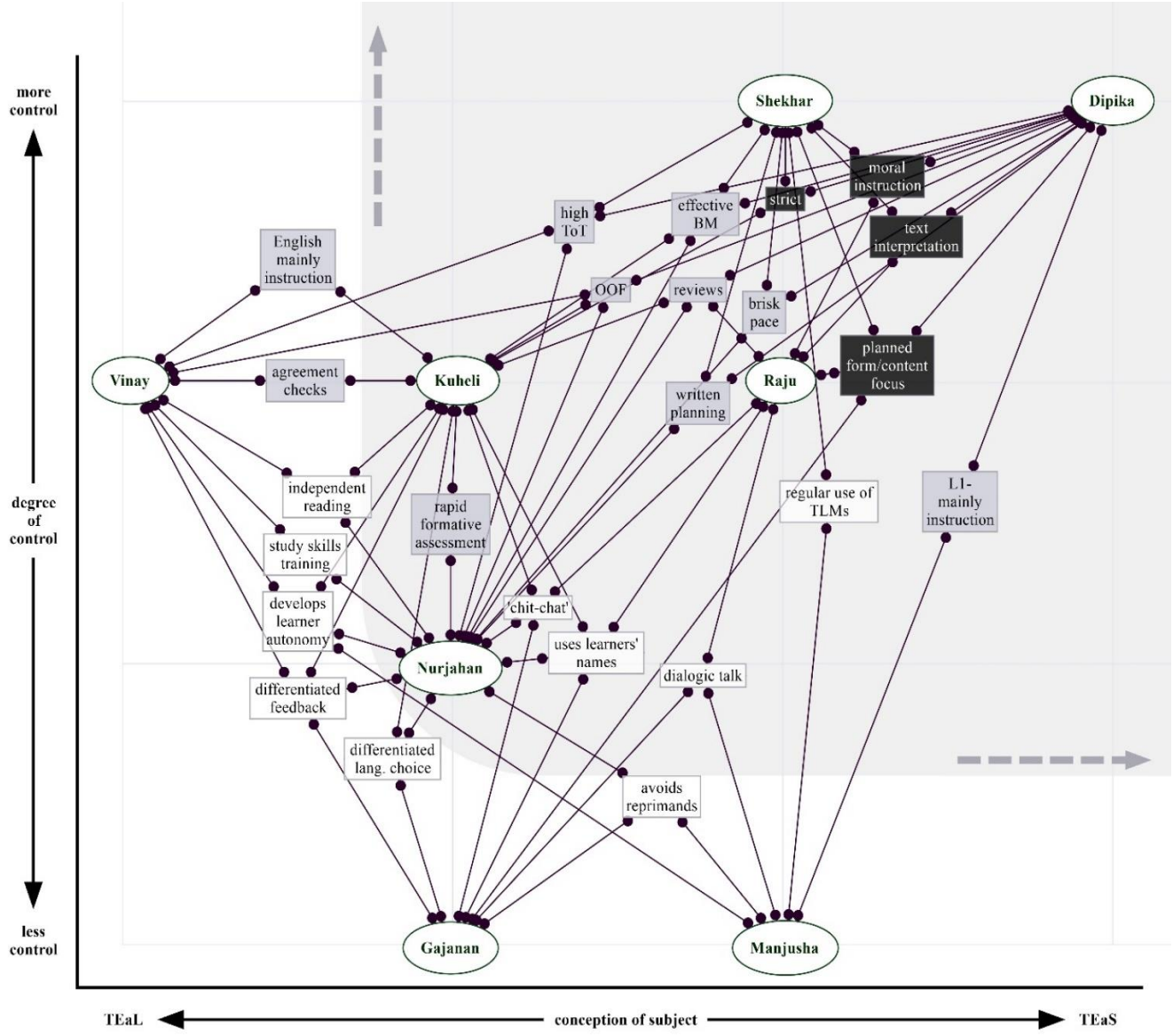
Mapped onto the CoS/DoC field are those themes where significant variation was observed among participant teachers. Themes which are typically interpreted as "more learner-centred" occupy pale text boxes, and those usually understood to be "less learner-centred" are in dark boxes—following Schweisfurth (2013, p. 10–11), the term "teacher-centred" is avoided as unhelpful. Themes which do not obviously relate to this cline are in mid-grey boxes. Placement of theme boxes is approximately equidistant between teachers

[40] Non-participant English teachers (excluding non-participant teachers of other subjects).

who shared the theme, with exceptions made for readability. No assumption is made here that learner-centred practices are necessarily desirable (see Alexander, 2009; Tabulawa, 1998, 2003), but the distinction offers an initial filter to enable broad patterns among differences to be detected.

Figure 41

Key differences among participant teachers: The CoS/DoC field



Notes: This field only shows central practices of participants where there was divergence. Practices shared by most are not shown here. Grey area indicates range of distribution of non-participant teachers (extending above and to the right of the shown area). ToT: time on task; BM: behaviour management; OOF: ongoing observational feedback; TLMs: teaching/learning materials; L1: first language.

Themes which were shared by the majority are not shown here (e.g., use of activities, collaborative learning, active monitoring, whole class teaching). If added, such themes would complexify the picture significantly (see the Commonalities Mindmap, Appendix O), precluding the potentially misleading interpretation of Figure 41 that teachers' practices varied simply between more and less learner-centred. All PTs were distinctly learner-centred in a number of ways (e.g., in their interpersonal practices), and all, at times, engaged in teacher-led instruction, structuring and management of learning; practices that are not normally associated with learner-centred pedagogy.

10.3. Conception of subject: The *TEaS*–*TEaL* continuum

The continuum between TEaS and TEaL reflects the spectrum of PTs' understandings of what constitutes their subject, "English", particularly in the "theories-in-use" (implicit beliefs) that directly influenced their classroom practice, but also, often, in their more explicit "espoused theories" (Argyris & Schön, 1974), although the interaction between these was sometimes complex (see below). Within Bernstein's taxonomy, this range is an issue primarily of "classification", relating to the categorisation of knowledge (2000, p. 6) at the level of the "pedagogic recontextualising field", which teachers have some control over (2000, p. 33).

A TEaS perspective views English as similar to other subjects on the curriculum – a body of explicit/declarative knowledge that learners acquire and then reproduce in exams (a "performance model" within Bernstein's framework; p. 45). Given that English teaching in India involves both the teaching of literature and language, TEaS tends to involve a stronger focus on the literature side (e.g., learning about rhyme schemes of poems, or identifying "figures of speech" such as metaphor, apostrophe or alliteration), which is more amenable to a performance model. TEaS approaches might also view as appropriate the memorisation of aspects of set texts or exam question answers (as seen in some NPETs' lessons), both to enable learners to perform well in exams, but also perceiving these as appropriate scholarly works to commit to heart. In contrast, TEaL involves a primary focus on the acquisition of English as a communicative system, with an awareness of its potential future utility in work and social contexts; a "competence model" (Bernstein, 2000, p. 45), analogous to the "communicative competence" of CLT (Hymes, 1972; Canale, 1983). It is more likely to prioritise the practice of English language skills (reading, writing, listening, speaking)

through meaning-focused activities with instruction on lexis and grammar typically more closely integrated into such skills practice.

Thus, while a TEaL approach seeks to prioritise the development of the underlying linguistic competence of the learners, which, in time, enables them (among other things) to answer exam questions on grammar and literature as a secondary outcome, a TEaS approach typically seeks to prioritise exam performance through a focus on the declarative knowledge that exams test, while also developing certain aspects of English language competence alongside this. The TEaL–TEaS distinction was evident in earlier research I conducted on the beliefs of Indian teachers of English within the AINET teacher association (Anderson, 2020c), with evidence of both TEaS and TEaL orientations among respondents' espoused theories:

> English is a language; and not a subject to teach, learners need skills (LSRWC) first then gradually to develop aesthetic sense towards literature. (p. 15)

While the international literature on foreign/second language teaching typically promotes a TEaL perspective, consistent with the currently dominant communicative paradigm (as do some Indian policy documents; NCERT, 2006, 2011), it would be dangerous to dismiss TEaS as inappropriate, at least from the teacher's perspective. Insomuch as all participant teachers' learners achieve desired outcomes within their local context (including higher than average exam pass rates), both of these approaches can be seen to "work", constituting different means to a currently universally prioritised end for secondary pedagogy in India.

A comparison of Dipika's and Vinay's case descriptions provides insight both into how variation along the TEaL–TEaS continuum manifests itself in the classroom (see their chapters), and also into the potential influences on such differences. Dipika's TEaS approach resulted in part from contextual factors, such as the top-down mandated scheme of work, the heavy exam focus in her school and the large classes she taught; what Bernstein would describe as a lack of autonomy in the pedagogic recontextualising field (2000, p. 51). But it is also influenced by her beliefs, both in the importance of learner engagement and in providing her learners with a broader, moral education than the curriculum offers (these influences interact and reinforce each other in complex ways). Nonetheless, evidence of conflict in her beliefs emerged when she observed that this was "the wrong way of doing

things", noting on one occasion that it "hurts me a lot" that she could not practice what she preached as a teacher educator (see 7.9), which seemed to be closer to a TEaL perspective.

Vinay's TEaL orientation can also be seen to be influenced (in part) by contextual factors, such as smaller class sizes, a stronger skills orientation in his curriculum and his greater autonomy from school administration. While Dipika was expected to reach specific syllabus benchmarks, and conduct standardised tests twice a term, Vinay had the freedom to prepare learners gradually over the academic year, building up their English language competence first, and leaving work on exam-specific skills till closer to the exams. However, the fact that that his practices contrasted markedly with those of his colleagues (who taught English mainly as subject) indicated that other factors are required to "explain" this difference. Perhaps most important among these factors is his unusual professional development path, including his active, tech-facilitated CPD that for many years involved regular networking with international colleagues. Also important were his belief in "introspection" (i.e., reflective practice) that enabled him to notice what does and doesn't lead to learning in his classroom, and finally, his determined personality that gave him confidence in his unique approach, despite often very different perceptions among those around him (see 6.9), even including some of his learners (see p. 144). It has led to his highly individual, project-based approach involving "processing tasks" and a strong commitment to collaborative learning.

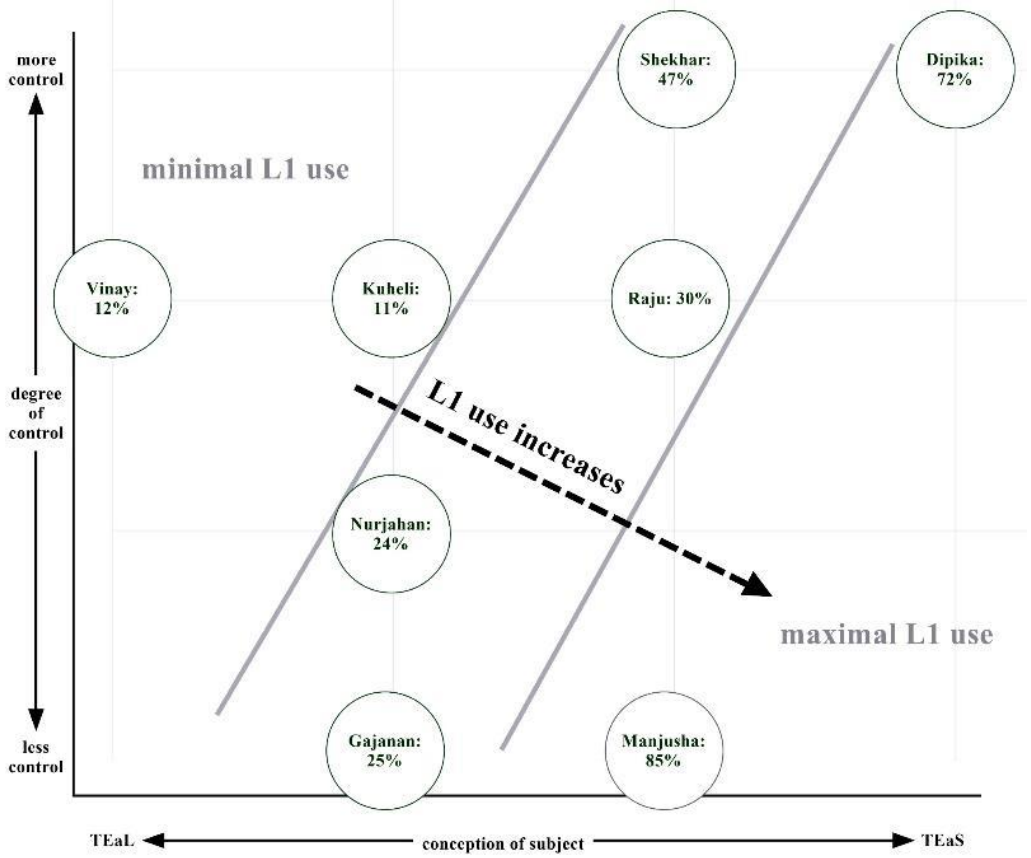
While Vinay's and Dipika's conceptions of subject can easily be separated on the continuum, the CoS of the six other PTs seemed to fall somewhere between these, being more likely to combine or balance aspects of TEaS and TEaL orientations. Shekhar and Raju both used more English than Dipika, and both believed that learners learn English predominantly through "exposure"—by listening to and interacting with the teacher, as well as texts. Yet they both shared with Dipika a strong tendency towards whole-class interactive teaching of explicit content (e.g., text interpretation), often with an exam focus. Manjusha believed more strongly in TEaL than these three, however, the comparatively low literacy levels among her learners led her, like Gajanan, to focus more on foundational literacy skills for English than whole-text work. She also engaged in text interpretation, but less so, and sometimes included more meaningful processing tasks similar to those of Vinay. Kuheli, Nurjahan and Gajanan all taught English predominantly as language; they used it as the main language of the classroom, engaged learners in meaningful spoken interaction in English, and in the case of Kuheli and Nurjahan, they, like Vinay, regularly provided independent

reading opportunities for their learners. Gajanan did this less often due to the lower proficiency of his learners; instead he sometimes turned text interpretation into storytelling, for example.

Vinay's and Dipika's CoS should not be seen as constituting the poles of the continuum. I observed NPETs whose CoS seemed to be more TEaS-focused than Dipika's, and in other contexts around the world, I have observed teachers whose approaches are more TEaL-focused than Vinay's.

Figure 42

Participant teachers' L1 use proportion mapped onto the Cos/Doc field



It is notable that the TEaS–TEaL continuum also correlated, in part, to the most obvious difference observed in participant teachers' languaging practices – their overall balance of English and L1 (in reality, the alternative school MOI) in their classroom discourse (see Figure 42). The two participants whose use of L1 resources was highest (Dipika and Manjusha) taught English more as subject and the two for whom such resources were lowest (Vinay and Kuheli) taught it more as language, while those in the middle used

median quantities of L1 (24–47%), although the correspondence was not perfect; the balance seemed also to be influenced both by DoC and other, mainly contextual, factors (see below).

10.4. Degree of control

The term degree of control (DoC) is used here to describe an amalgam of three elements that PTs actively influenced: management of learner behaviour (varying from strict to lenient[41]), control of short-term schemes of work (varying from teacher controlled to negotiated), and control of classroom discourse (varying from teacher-controlled initiation–response–feedback [IRF; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975] sequences to more dialogic interaction, when learners were more likely to initiate conversations, ask questions, or engage in extended discussion with the teacher). While all three can be seen to relate to the broader issue of control (similar to Bernstein's "framing", as "the controls on selection, sequence, pace and criteria"; 2000, p. 113), the reality was that among PTs these different aspects of control did not always vary together (see Morais, 2002).

In the case of Shekhar, his unquestioned authority as teacher, and the respect that his students showed him meant that behaviour management interventions were rarely required, and thus rarely evident, yet his almost complete control over schemes of work (only one instance of minor negotiation was noted), and the presence of IRF-dominant discourse in which he initiated and concluded almost all interactions, led to my assigning the highest score among PTs. I perceived that Dipika merited a similar score, due primarily to her comparatively strict behaviour management, which also involved IRF-dominant discourse, although she was observed, on five occasions, to negotiate aspects of lesson content with learners.

At the other end of this scale, Gajanan and Manjusha shared a philosophy of "no fear" and beliefs in avoiding punishment and correction in front of peers, whenever possible that were consistent with their classroom practices. Manjusha's belief in the natural "hustle-bustle" of learners "learning with their natural surroundings" (Manjusha/ETI/13:00), and Gajanan's tendency to subvert the normal teacher-student hierarchy and negotiate frequently with his learners, were testament to their weak framing of hierarchical rules (Bernstein,

[41] 'Strict' is here defined as a low tolerance of off-task behaviour, and 'lenient' as high tolerance.

2000). Importantly, these practices were also more feasible in their comparatively small classes[42] compared to those of Dipika and Shekhar. Both engaged in more dialogic interaction with their learners, where learners often initiated interactions, argued, joked and expressed their feelings in any language. This was accompanied by a parental rapport that created a more homely environment for learning. Yet, both also sacrificed certain advantages of stricter approaches to behaviour management, such as the ability to get silence and attention more quickly, the need to spend time managing disagreements between learners, and, at times, a slower pace and less time on task as a result.

Nurjahan's highly personal approach often involved friendly chit-chat and jokes with learners, with less IRF-dominant discourse than Shekhar or Dipika. She engaged in noticeably more negotiation than other PTs. Yet, while her espoused belief in avoiding punishment was generally consistent with her practice (only on one occasion did she threaten serious sanctions), the larger classes she taught, and the challenging behaviour of some learners in her "naughty" classes (see p. 176), led to her behaviour management being more visible than that of Gajanan, Manjusha and even Raju (who all worked in smaller classes), and her development of a range of strategies to manage learners when required. Nonetheless, the fact that she did so effectively meant that most lessons tended to progress with minimal disruption, and higher time on task and pace compared to Gajanan and Manjusha.

Vinay, Kuheli and Raju were all assessed as being approximately at the same level of control, but for different reasons. In the case of Kuheli, her behaviour management—even by her own admission—was "strict" (Kuheli/PLI1/13:55), and the high standards she expected of her learners also included quite specific expectations regarding rules and behaviour, yet she shared Manjusha's and Gajanan's parental rapport and playful personality that led to some lesson stages involving more dialogic discourse, while others followed a fairly clear IRF pattern. Nevertheless, negotiation was frequently observed in ways that were similar to Nurjahan's and Gajanan's use of this strategy. Raju seemed to be naturally quite an authoritarian teacher, with emphases on moral guidance and whole-class direct instruction that led to fairly visible behaviour management, particularly in his grade 10 class, where a number of the mainly male learners were potentially disruptive. Yet, due to his having smaller classes than all other PTs, he was much more able to engage in dialogic interaction with his learners, often receiving frequent questions, requests and suggestions from them,

[42] Both had mean class sizes of 23 learners over the period observed.

and negotiation was noted on several occasions. Finally, Vinay offered probably the greatest degree of autonomy to his learners in the class, requiring them to work independently in groups for large periods of time, suggestive of comparatively low levels of control. Yet there was also little negotiation about what was to be done, or how; he retained quite strict control over the scheme of work (i.e., project progress) in his lessons. During presentation lesson phases he could be quite strict in requiring learner silence and attention, and teacher–student interaction would take on a much more "teacherly" feel, with him providing significant feedback and correction, as well as praise.

As such, it was difficult to categorise the eight teachers' diverse DoCs on a simple scale, and Vinay, Kuheli or Raju, could potentially be assigned the same score as Nurjahan, if a different weighting of these three elements were adopted. Further, class size seems to be a factor influencing DoC, with PTs in two of the three largest classes exhibiting higher levels of control, and PTs in two of the four smallest exhibiting the lowest levels, as might be expected. In this regard, Nurjahan's ability to manifest comparatively low levels of control in large classes is notable, potentially attributable to her strong focus on interpersonal practices (see 8.4).

Once more, it is important to note that DoC scores assigned were relative to the PTs. My observations of 26 NPETs indicated that the majority would probably score similarly to Shekhar and Dipika, although some would have scored higher due to much more visible, occasionally oppressive, behaviour management and control of discourse. A small number would score closer to Raju and Kuheli, possibly even Nurjahan, although none exhibited the very clearly anti-authoritarian atmospheres that typified Manjusha's and Gajanan's lessons.

10.5. Themes shared among specific 'clusters' of teachers

Here follows brief analysis of the themes where significant difference was observed among PTs. When superimposed on Figure 41, it was found that the majority could be understood or "explained" through the two continua, insomuch as they were often shared by "neighbouring" teachers on the field, and also revealed common pedagogic concerns and principles.

Four themes that are less learner-centred—often associated with more "transmission focused" or "didactic" practices (Schweisfurth, 2013, p. 10)—clustered in the top-right

corner of the CoS/DoC field, being shared predominantly by Shekhar, Dipika and Raju, the three teachers who exhibited higher levels of control and taught English more as subject than other participant teachers. These were: a regular tendency to provide moral instruction to their learners, the frequent inclusion of text interpretation, and planned form focus (e.g., lessons with a focus on grammar presentation and controlled practice) which was also shared with Gajanan. Strict behaviour management, also associated with more transmissive instruction, was shared between Shekhar, Dipika and Kuheli, two of whom taught some of the largest classes among PTs and two of whom taught in inner-city urban contexts; this combination appeared to correlate, weakly but logically, with the need for increased attention to behaviour management.

Other themes tended to group towards the left-centre of the field, due to their being shared predominantly between Vinay, Kuheli and Nurjahan. These included several themes indicative of an interest in developing learner autonomy: the frequent inclusion of independent silent reading activities, a focus on the development of learner study skills (Vinay and Nurjahan mainly), and the theme of learner autonomy itself, which was also shared with Manjusha and often cultivated through giving learners greater independence and scope for creativity during activities. All of these themes tend to be associated with more learner-centred, "progressive" approaches, particularly within language teaching (Tudor, 1993).

Also towards the left-centre of the field, due to their being central to the practice of Kuheli, Nurjahan and Gajanan, were the themes of differentiation in language choice and differentiated feedback (this last one also shared with Vinay). Two other themes were also shared with Raju: the frequent use of learners' names, both for nomination and behaviour management, and the inclusion of "chit-chat" (Kuheli's term) in lessons, when the teacher would (especially at the start of lessons) engage the learners in meaningful discussion in English, often about everyday topics. These four themes can all be broadly seen to relate to the topic of personalisation in the classroom.

One other influence, class size, can also be detected in the differences among participant teachers' practices, although it only exhibited a weak correlation, primarily to DoC, hence the teachers involved are quite widely dispersed. It is notable that the three teachers with the largest classes (Dipika, Nurjahan and Shekhar) shared four practices that were generally less evident in the classes of other teachers: effective behaviour management

(also shared with Kuheli), a brisk pace and higher time on task (also shared with Vinay). All of these constitute effective ways to ensure large classes remain on task and less likely to disrupt peers or the general flow of the lesson (Balcanao-Buco et al., 2020; Hess, 2001). Conversely, there was more dialogic interaction with students and use of learners' names in smaller classes (Nurjahan, who regularly used names in larger classes, was an exception to the latter), although this was also influenced by more idiosyncratic factors; Manjusha and Vinay both had fairly small classes, but both also admitted that they weren't very good at remembering names.

The remaining themes where significant difference was noticed among PTs for which potential clustering explanations could not be found were comparatively few, including two that were shared among four widely dispersed teachers: the inclusion of frequent brief reviews of prior learning especially at the start of lessons (Raju, Dipika, Nurjahan and Kuheli), and the frequent provision of ongoing observational feedback (Vinay, Dipika, Nurjahan and Kuheli).

10.6. Conclusion

This chapter has offered an interpretation of the key differences observed among participant teachers, which were most evident in classroom practice. It found that two key variables underpinning their pedagogy are able to account for most of these differences: conception of subject and degree of control, to some extent comparable to Bernstein's *classification* and *framing* respectively. Evidence is offered to suggest that each teacher's CoS is influenced in part by contextual constraints, particularly when these constraints reduce teacher autonomy, but also in part by other factors, such as personal beliefs, interests and professionalism. I have suggested that each teacher's DoC—a composite of several features of their practice—is also influenced by similar factors: context, personal beliefs and values, interests and professionalism. The finding that more learner-centred practices tend to cluster towards the bottom and left of the field is expected and consistent with Bernstein's discussion of "progressive" approaches involving weaker classification and framing than alternatives (e.g., 2000, p. 14, p. 54). Yet, it would be an oversimplification to reduce the representation provided by this two-dimensional field to the single issue of learner-centredness; it is also important to bear in mind the many shared practices among PTs, not illustrated on the field, that are typically associated with learner-centred education (e.g., the use of independent

activities, collaborative learning and active monitoring) as well as some involving practices often labelled “teacher-centred” or “transmissive” (e.g., whole class interactive teaching); see Chapter 9. To shed further understanding onto all of these practices, the next chapter will compare these findings both to the wider literature on teacher expertise and what little can be extrapolated from research on effective pedagogy in the Global South to identify many similarities, as well as a number of important differences which seem to relate primarily to the contextual challenges that teachers working in developing countries face.

Chapter 11. Discussion

11.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of this study in relation to relevant prior literature to address the third question of importance to its aims:

3. To what extent are the commonalities identified (among PTs) consistent with those of expert teachers in other researched contexts?

After initial critical consideration of the extent to which the study succeeded in identifying expert teachers according to the definition offered in 3.2.3, this third question will be addressed through a quantitative comparative analysis of its findings to the wider literature. The chapter will then offer in-depth discussion of the findings, focusing particularly on areas where differences to the wider literature were observed that serve to structure the discussion.

The chapter also looks at two additional issues of interest arising from the findings of the study: the question of the extent to which the PTs' practices can be considered to be learner-centred, and a more subject-specific discussion of their teaching relative to current discourse on best practice in language teaching.

11.2. Critical assessment of participants' expertise

Perhaps the most important question with which to begin this discussion concerns the degree to which the participant recruitment method used in this study succeeded in finding appropriate participants – teachers whose practices, personas and attributes are consistent with the definition of teacher expertise theorised above (see 3.2.3):

> Teacher expertise is an enacted amalgam of learnt, context-specific competencies (i.e., embodied knowledge, skills and awareness) that is valued within an educational community as a source of appropriate practice for others to learn from.

All of these features were found to be broadly true of all eight PTs, albeit to varying degrees. All had an extensive array of experientially acquired competencies, including knowledge, skills and awareness that nonetheless varied among them. For each, these were

in part specific to their individual contexts of practice, consistent with the literature (e.g., Berliner, 1988), but also in part a product of their personalities, beliefs, identities and interests as individuals, and difficult to separate from these; in this sense they were embodied. Their expertise was largely specific to the subject they taught, English, although the extent to which they identified as "English teachers" or identified with the subject "English" varied. While Dipika identified as a teacher first and foremost ("I can teach anything which I like"), others, either through a passion for the subject (Manjusha, Shekhar), the community it represented (Raju's transnational connections as a Christian), the emancipation it offered (Gajanan's rejection of the caste system), or the subject-specific pedagogy they had acquired (Vinay, Nurjahan, Kuheli), identified as teachers of English. Through their roles as teacher educators, school leaders and mentors, there was clear evidence for all PTs that their competence was respected and valued, although Vinay, as a "maverick" (Initial Reflections, p. 1) of sorts, was valued highly at state and district level, but perhaps less so by his more traditionally minded school colleagues. Likewise, through these same roles, they continued to provide regular opportunities for others to learn from them, all—without exception—showing as much dedication to supporting colleagues as to their own lifelong learning. Thus, in this sense, I can claim that this is a study of teacher expertise, as defined above.

The question of the relationship between these diverse narratives of expertise and the outcomes they engendered is more difficult to answer, partly because this depends on how one frames those outcomes (Nordstrum, 2015; Schweisfurth, 2013) – to what extent the teacher is seen as a facilitator of learning, a socialiser of citizens (see Sfard's discussion of these two metaphors; 1998), an emancipator of the oppressed (Freire, 1970), or a combination of these. Interestingly, there was evidence of all these roles among PTs to varying degrees, with most devoting primary importance to the first (facilitating learning) and evidence that they did this better, often much better, than comparable NPTs. Yet, for some, the second (socialisation of learners) was particularly important (Dipika's "larger aim", also a clear focus at times for Shekhar and Raju). For others, the third was also important (especially Gajanan, Raju, Vinay, Manjusha and Kuheli) – the "invisible pattern" of "greater inequality" that Gajanan, as a former Dalit, sought to overcome for his learners (ETI/43:00). Discussed as such, because of their diversity (not in spite of it), the participants in this study embody expertise in the plethora of ways that it is likely to exist, both in wider society and in educational systems as a cornerstone (both product and creator) of social

practice. As Bruner observes, “How one conceives of education, we have finally come to recognize, is a function of how one conceives of the culture and its aims, professed and otherwise” (1996, pp. ix–x; also see Berliner, 2001a).

The challenge for the remainder of this chapter is to tread carefully between the two themes of convergence and divergence, both among PTs and between my findings and those of prior studies. While there are many areas of broad convergence with findings from the wider literature to report on (arguably the most important finding of this study), the areas of divergence found are often more insightful and shed light both onto the challenges and affordances of PTs’ contexts (e.g., overambitious curricula and exam washback) and onto individual differences between them (e.g., their L1-use practices, their conceptions of the subject they teach, and the ways they command or eschew control of the classroom).

11.3. Similarities to prior research findings

In order to conduct a comprehensive comparison of commonalities identified among PTs to the frequent findings of prior ET studies, the comparative spreadsheet (Appendix P) was compared to the literature review findings. Despite having taken place separately, both analytical processes produced lists of descriptive “themes” that were comparable. Thus, equivalents to all 92 *robust themes* (reported on from four or more studies) identified during the literature review (see 3.4) were searched for in the comparative spreadsheet. For those that were found (n = 56), mean scores[43] are reported in Table 17 as follows:

<1.0: weak support (W)

1.0–2.0: partial support (P)

>2.0: strong support (S)

For those themes from the literature review that did not have clear equivalents in the comparative spreadsheet (n = 36), yet an informed inference could be made, these were assessed as follows:

broadly true for 1–2 PTs: weak support (W)

[43] These were averages across all eight PTs, who were individually rated 0-3 for each theme.

broadly true for 3–5 PTs: partial support (P)

broadly true for 6 or more PTs: strong support (S)

Using this method, a high level of agreement was found between the two sets of findings (see Table 17), with 78 of the 92 robust findings from prior ET research (85%) found to be strongly supported by this study, and 11 more (12%) to be partially supported. Areas of obvious divergence, only weakly supported by this study, constituted only three themes (3%). Those themes that received partial or weak support are expanded upon in the relevant thematic discussion below. An additional five out of six robust findings from the DC literature reviewed that received little or no support from the expertise literature were also strongly supported by this study (see Table 18), and of five further themes specific to language teacher expertise with clear support from two or more prior studies, three received strong and two partial support from this study (see Table 19).

Table 17

Robust findings from prior ET studies supported by this study

#	Finding / theme	Example references	This study[1]
Knowledge base			
1	Extensive, integrated knowledge base (incl. wide range of topics)	Bond et al., 2000; Tsui, 2003	S
2	Extensive subject/content knowledge (incl. explicit language knowledge for language teachers)	Andrews & McNeill, 2005; Smith & Strahan, 2004	S
3	Extensive knowledge about learners (both general and individuals)	Bullough & Baughman, 1995; Carter et al., 1987	S
4	Extensive knowledge about curriculum	Pepin et al., 2017; Westerman, 1991	S
5	Self-regulatory knowledge	Bullough & Baughman, 1995; Crawford et al., 2005	P
6	Knowledge is specific to the context in which they work (non-transferable)	Berliner, 1988; Bond et al., 2000	S
7	Extensive pedagogical knowledge	Swanson et al., 1990; Wolff et al., 2015	S
8	PCK is well developed	Andrews & McNeill, 2005; Gudmundsdottir, 1991	S
Cognitive processes			
9	Extensive and automated cognitive processes/heuristics (teaching or planning)	Allen & Casbergue, 1997; Borko & Livingston, 1989	S
10	Attends primarily to relevant information	Carter et al., 1988; Wolff et al., 2015	S

11	Able to deal effectively with the unexpected (due to automated processes)	Goodwyn, 2011; Leinhardt & Greeno, 1986	S
12	High awareness of what's happening in class	Sabers et al., 1991; Wolff et al., 2015	S
13	Able to make appropriate decisions/improvise responsively in class	Bond et al., 2000; Westerman, 1991	S
14	Able to solve problems effectively	Asaba, 2018; Sorensen, 2014	P
15	Regularly engages in progressive/experimental problem solving	Milstein, 2015; Tsui, 2003	S
Beliefs (in…)			
16	A sense of moral duty or mission towards learners	Bullough & Baughman, 1995; Campbell, 1991	S
17	Close relationships/good rapport as important	Blackwell, 2020; Schempp et al., 2002	S
18	Knowing one's pupils well	Hanusova et al., 2013; Rollett, 2001	P
19	Motivating learners as important	Li et al., 2011; Yuan & Zhang, 2019	S
20	Engaging learners as important	Asaba, 2018; Milstein, 2015	S
21	Having high expectations/setting high challenges for learners	Torff, 2006; Tsui, 2003	W
22	Avoiding blaming learners for shortcomings	Goodwyn, 2011; Smith & Strahan, 2004	S
23	Encouraging learners to take responsibility for own learning	Gross, 2014; Smith & Strahan, 2004	P
24	Accepting primary responsibility for learning	Campbell, 1991; Schempp et al., 1998	S
25	Respecting learners	Blackwell, 2020; Bond et al., 2000	S
26	Avoiding making a priori assumptions or labelling learners (every child matters)	Bullough & Baughman, 1995; Tsui, 2003	S
27	Treating learners as individuals with diverse needs and backgrounds	Rollett, 2001; Smith & Strahan, 2004	S
28	Linking learning to learners' lives and schemata	Gudmundsdottir, 1991; Traianou, 2006	S
29	Belief in constructivism (or aspects of)	Chen & Rovegno, 2000; Lawrie et al., 2019	S
30	Skills practice important (reading writing speaking listening) (language teaching only)	Hanusova et al., 2013; Li & Zou, 2017	S
Pedagogic practice			
31	Planning is wholly or predominantly mental, not written	Borko & Livingston, 1989; Westerman, 1991	S
32	Careful planning (as either mental or written process)	Leinhardt, 1989; Tsui, 2003	P

33	Considers learners' needs when planning (both group and individuals)	Goodwyn, 2011; Pepin et al., 2017	S
34	Considers long-term objectives when planning	Chen & Rovegno, 2000; Pike, 2014	P
35	Plans flexibly and contingently	Borko & Livingston, 1989; Tochon & Munby, 1993	S
36	Makes regular use of teaching/learning materials	Pepin et al., 2017; Yang, 2014	P
37	Develops own materials/resources/activities	Lin & Li, 2011; Pepin et al., 2017	S
38	Integrates use of technology into practice	Pepin et al., 2017; Pike, 2014	P
39	Displays flexibility/improvises when teaching (responsive/adaptive expertise)	Borko & Livingston, 1989; Even & Gottlib, 2011	S
40	Reflects interactively	Asaba, 2018; Yang, 2014	S
41	Can keep lessons on track (to achieve aims)	Borko & Livingston, 1989; Traianou, 2006	S
42	Aware of achievement of aims/objectives	Chen, 2001; Westerman, 1991	S
43	Lesson summary at end (e.g., learning points, formative questioning)	Lin & Li, 2011; Schempp et al., 2002	P
44	Has clear routines and procedures	Leinhardt et al., 1987; May & Curtner-Smith, 2020	S
45	Creates positive, supportive learning environments	Schempp et al., 2002; Smith & Strahan, 2004	S
46	Develops close meaningful relationships with learners	Gross, 2014; Smith & Strahan, 2004	S
47	Engages learners through practices/content /activities/strategies	Bond et al., 2000; Milstein, 2015	S
48	Regular use of positive reinforcement/praise	Blackwell, 2020; Stough & Palmer, 2001	S
49	Lesson is made enjoyable for learners (e.g., humour, fun activities)	Arani, 2017; Milstein, 2015	S
50	Balances teacher-led (e.g., whole class teaching) and learner-centred (e.g., activities)	Leinhardt & Greeno, 1986; Yang, 2014	S
51	whole class teaching (presentations, demos) is interactive	Arani, 2017; Westerman, 1991	S
52	Explains in various ways	Gross, 2014; Schempp et al., 2002	P
53	Uses independent activities (seatwork or groupwork)	Milstein, 2015; Smith & Strahan, 2004	S
54	Make regular use of collaborative learning (pair & groupwork)	Berliner, 1991; Gross, 2014	S
55	Monitors learners during activities	Milstein, 2015; Smith & Strahan, 2004	S
56	Links learning to/builds learning on learners' lives and schemata	Meyer, 2004; Traianou, 2006	S
57	Makes use of inductive (e.g., problem-based/discovery) learning	Chen & Rovegno, 2000; Yang, 2014	W

58	Peer tutoring encouraged (incl. peer teaching/ correction/feedback/support)	Chen & Rovegno, 2000; Gross, 2014	S
59	Teacher questioning of learners frequent	Chen & Ding, 2018; Gudmundsdottir, 1991	S
60	Learner questioning frequent	Arani, 2017; Even & Gottlib, 2011	S
61	Develops higher order thinking skills (incl. creativity and critical thinking)	Chen, 2001; Torff, 2006	P
62	Develops learners' understanding	Chen & Ding, 2018; Traianou, 2006	S
63	Scaffolds learning effectively	Meyer, 2004; Yang, 2014	S
64	Develops learners' study skills/autonomy/ metacognition	Chen, 2001; Hayden et al., 2020	S
65	Differentiation provided according to learners' needs, interests and challenges	Goodwyn, 2011; Milstein, 2015	S
66	Gives learners choice/negotiates	Even & Gottlib, 2011; Smith & Strahan, 2004	S
67	Provides one-to-one tutoring/personalised support (e.g., when monitoring)	Gross, 2014; Sorensen, 2014	S
68	Formative assessment is central to practice	Carter et al., 1987; Hayden et al., 2020	S
69	Assessment of prior knowledge precedes new instruction	Meyer, 2004; Westerman, 1991	S
70	Continually assessing throughout lesson/dynamic assessment (e.g., through questioning)	Asaba, 2018; Lin & Li, 2011	S
71	Provides useful (qualitative) feedback regularly and appropriately	Blackwell, 2020; May & Curtner-Smith, 2020	S
72	May use non-verbal, visual cues to assess learning	Webb et al., 1997; Wolff et al., 2015	S
73	Includes focus on exam tasks and/or awareness raising of these	Gross, 2014; Yang, 2014	S
74	Engages learners in assessment process (e.g., self-assessment, peer assessment)	Chen, 2001; Hayden et al., 2020	S
Personal attributes			
75	Passion for profession/work as teacher	Bond et al., 2000; Tsui, 2003	S
76	Enjoys teaching	Campbell, 1991; Rollett, 2001	S
77	Cares for/loves their learners (incl. unconditional positive regard)	Gross, 2014; Slater et al., 2013	S
78	Emotions evident/prominent	Berliner, 1988; Tsui, 2003	W
79	Strong desire to succeed/ambitious/motivated	Campbell, 1991; Milstein, 2015	S
80	Positive self-image/self-confidence/identity	Rollett, 2001; Smith & Strahan, 2004	S
81	Independent/autonomous	Campbell, 1991; Milstein, 2015	S
82	Resilience (and persistence)	Goodwyn, 2011; Milstein, 2015	S

Professionalism			
83	Dedicated/hard working/committed	Bullough & Baughman, 1995; Tsui, 2003	S
84	Continuous/lifelong learners/striving to improve	Schempp et al., 1998; Smith & Strahan, 2004	S
85	Interest in CPD/INSET/in-service qualifications	Andrews & McNeill, 2005; Tsui, 2003	S
86	Collaboration/professional learning communities/communities of practice important (local, national & international)	Gross, 2014; Milstein, 2015	S
87	Shares resources/ideas with colleagues regularly	May & Curtner-Smith, 2020; Pepin et al., 2017	S
88	Helps colleagues as teacher educator (incl. mentoring, informal peer support)	Amrein-Beardsley, 2007; Traianou, 2006	S
89	Challenges self incl. through experiments, risks, innovation (incl. progressive problem solving)	Hanusova et al., 2014; Tsui, 2003	S
90	Reflects extensively	Asaba, 2018; Gross, 2014	S
91	Reflects critically (e.g., self-questioning, problematising practice)	Asaba, 2018; Tsui, 2003	S
92	Leader (either in school and locally or more widely)	Smith & Strahan, 2004; Traianou, 2006	S

Note. 1. W = weak support; P = partial support; S = strong support.

Table 18

Additional findings from literature on effective teaching in developing countries supported by this study

Finding / theme	Example references	This study[1]
Beliefs (in…)		
Learning without fear	Addy et al., 2012; Westbrook et al., 2013	S
Pedagogic practice		
Plans varying lessons (to engage and challenge SS)	Addy et al., 2012; Westbrook et al., 2013	W
Inclusive attention to all learners	Grimes et al., 2011; Sharma, 2013	S
Makes use of learners' languages and codeswitches	Pryor et al., 2012; Westbrook et al., 2013	S
Promotes meaningful communication	Power et al., 2012; Westbrook et al., 2013	S
Practice involves informed eclecticism (use of variety of approaches)	Mamba & Putsoa, 2018; Westbrook et al., 2013	S

Note. 1. W = weak support; P = partial support; S = strong support.

Table 19

Additional findings from literature on expert language teachers supported by this study

Finding / theme	Example references	This study[1]
Knowledge base		
High L2 proficiency	Andrews & McNeill, 2005; Tsui, 2003	S
Beliefs (in…)		
Developing learners' communicative competence	Hanusova et al., 2013; Li & Zou, 2017	P
Learners' need explicit language knowledge	Andrews & McNeill, 2005; Tsui, 2003	S
Pedagogic practice		
Provides corrective feedback of learner errors	Toraskar, 2015; Tsui, 2003	S
Makes use of meaningful tasks/activities to practise language	Andrews & McNeill, 2005; Tsui, 2003	P

Note. 1. W = weak support; P = partial support; S = strong support.

I also found it insightful to compare my findings to those of, arguably, the most rigorous detailed review of effective classroom practices from DCs conducted to date (Westbrook et al., 2013). Based on their findings, the authors argue for a framework including three strategies and six practices that they stress are used "communicatively" (p. 2) by more effective teachers in DC contexts. Table 20 shows that there is, once more, a high degree of agreement with the findings of my study, although there are two notable areas of divergence (practices 3 and 6), both discussed below.

Table 20

Support from this study for findings of Westbrook et al.'s review (2013)

Three strategies	Evidence from my study	Notes
T. gives feedback and pays sustained and inclusive attention to all students.	Strong	Seven PTs regularly provided individual and small group feedback while monitoring. Most also gave clear whole class feedback, often with scaffolding. All PTs were seen to be inclusive, involving all learners, not only the most able.
T. creates a safe, supportive learning environment.	Strong	All PTs provided regular praise, built self-confidence, enjoyed their teaching and cultivated a positive rapport. All avoided humiliation, and reduced learner 'fear' in the classroom.

T. draws on students' backgrounds, prior knowledge and experiences to facilitate learning.	Fairly strong	Five PTs frequently built new learning on learners' interests, schemata and experiences. The remaining three did so sometimes.
Six practices	**Evidence from my study**	**Notes**
T. demonstrates and explains interactively drawing on sound PCK.	Strong	Of seven PTs who regularly engaged in whole class teaching, this was frequently interactive for six. PCK of all PTs was extensive and led to appropriate, and usually varied in-class practices.
T. makes flexible use of whole-class, group and pairwork [interactions] where students discuss a shared task.	Fairly strong	Five PTs made frequent use of collaborative learning in a variety of interactions, and a further two did so sometimes. This was balanced with individual seat work and whole class instruction.
Frequent and relevant use of TLMs beyond the textbook.	Fairly weak	Two PTs made frequent use of alternative TLMs and three did so sometimes, although four regularly created and used resourceless activities beyond the textbook (e.g., delivered via board or orally).
T regularly engages in both open and closed questioning and encourages student questions.	Fairly strong	Questioning and elicitation were frequent for seven PTs, mainly lower order and closed, but sometimes also open (although higher order and critical questioning were less common). Learner questions were frequent for all PTs.
T. makes use of local languages and codeswitches.	Fairly strong	All PTs were L1-inclusive in their practices, most using it frequently themselves, including regular translanguaging.
T. plans varying lesson structures to engage and challenge students.	Fairly weak	Six PTs had a small number of predictable lesson structures, two showed more variety.

These observations—of high agreement between my findings and those of both the international literature on teacher expertise and a detailed review on effective pedagogy in developing countries (DCs)—are important for two reasons. Firstly, they provide a degree of construct (convergent) validity (Trochim, 2020) to the study – further triangulation to support my claim that this is a study of teacher expertise. Secondly, they begin to point towards a number of areas for further research, both in our search for areas where expertise seems to be consistent in its nature irrespective of context or challenges (Sternberg and Horvath's expert teacher prototype; 1995), and in our search for areas in which there may be

differences in aspects of teacher expertise when comparing the challenging contexts frequently found in DCs with those in higher income countries; see work by Campbell and colleagues on "differential teacher effectiveness" (e.g., Campbell et al., 2003a, 2004b; Muijs et al., 2005).

11.3.1. Further findings with little or no support in prior literature

Table 21 presents 14 further themes of importance from this study (extracted from the comparative spreadsheet developed during data analysis: Appendix P) that received little or no support from prior ET studies. While some of these may have *not* been discussed in the literature due to assumptions that they are standard practice in higher-income contexts (e.g., using learners' names regularly), others are notable for their absence, including strong evidence of PTs building learner self-confidence, consistent evidence of L1 inclusivity across all PTs, and PTs' perception of their learners as the main evaluators of their practice – many of these are integrated into the discussion below. Considered together, these findings suggest that ETs working in more challenging contexts may possess additional competencies, skills and strategies above and beyond those of ETs working in more privileged circumstances.

Table 21

Findings from my study with little or no support from prior teacher expertise studies

	Domain	**Theme**	**# of prior studies**
1	Belief in…	Self as role model	2
2	Interpersonal practice	Using learners' names regularly	1
3		Building learner self-confidence	2
4		Frequent interaction with parents	not found
5	Languaging practice	L1 inclusivity	not found
6		(Conscious) simplification of (spoken) English	not found
7	Pedagogic practice	Selective curriculum coverage	2
8		Uses specific strategies for nomination	not found
9		Dialogic discourse	3
10		Practice activities (any) for individual or collaborative work	3
11		Responsive form focus (i.e. grammar clarification)	not found
12	Professionalism	Seeing learners as main evaluators	not found
13		Training programmes have been influential	not found
14		Desire for feedback (from observer)	not found

***

The remaining sections of this discussion focus on specific clusters of findings from this study, particularly where differences were noted to the wider (ET and DC) literature. This includes both robust findings in the literature that were not supported by this study and findings from this study that receive little or no support from the wider literature. At times it is possible to offer potential explanations for these findings through discussion of contextual challenges, constraints and affordances that the participant teachers experienced. Interestingly, where broad differences to the ET literature are discussed below, the exception from this study is almost always the teacher working in the most privileged context, Kuheli. In such instances, her practices were more consistent with the ET literature, providing further evidence that social and economic disadvantage, in all its manifestations, is a root explanatory factor for these differences.

11.4. Planning, improvisation, negotiation and variation

This study provides further support for the finding that ETs often do not write lesson plans; PTs' planning was ostensibly a mental process (e.g., Borko & Livingston, 1989; Westerman, 1991), fluent and efficient (Li & Zou, 2017), and their plans were contingent and flexible, consistent with the ET literature (Tochon & Munby, 1993; Yang, 2014). Partial support was found for an additional frequent finding, that ETs plan carefully (e.g., Leinhardt, 1989); several, but not all PTs seemed to be planning more carefully than comparable colleagues. It is notable that, despite their expertise, some (mental) planning seemed to be necessary; on the few occasions when PTs did not have sufficient time to prepare, their lessons were less likely to be effectively structured and their activity choice and instructions less appropriate.

This study also provides strong support for the related finding that ETs are able to exhibit considerable flexibility while teaching, improvising responsively to learners' emerging needs and challenges (e.g., Berliner, 2004; Sorensen, 2014). Two PTs, Nurjahan and Kuheli, characterised this ability as their "reflection during teaching" or "reflection-in-action" respectively, the latter drawing upon Schön's construct (1983); both felt that they were aware of this happening as they taught (as did Goodwyn's ETs; 2011, p. 80). However, one of the primary means by which this *adaptive expertise* (see Carbonell et al., 2014) manifested itself among PTs—through negotiation with learners—is less salient in the ET

literature. Four ET studies report teachers providing choice to their learners, most often involving personal task choice (e.g., Milstein, 2015; Smith & Strahan, 2004), rather than negotiation with the whole class. Six PTs engaged in such negotiation (three frequently), occasionally of lesson content, more often of lesson structure, activity choice and process. While both Nurjahan and Kuheli justified negotiation through reference to developing learner agency and autonomy (as do Milstein's ETs; 2015), this practice may be more evident among PTs than in the wider ET literature due to specific contextual challenges (e.g., the unpredictable nature of lesson length and learner attendance; see 9.5.2), making this a finding of potential consequence to other DC contexts where similar challenges are likely. It is also likely to be due to the irregular lesson length documented in this study that only partial support was found among PTs for another robust finding in the ET literature, that many ETs regularly include summaries or reviews of learning at the end of lessons (e.g., Lin & Li, 2011).

The only two of the six effective practices presented by Westbrook et al. (2013) that did not receive clear support from this study also warrant discussion here, as both relate to aspects of teaching that are typically planned. Based on evidence of "predictable shape of lessons" (p. 59) among less effective teachers and evidence that appropriate structuring of lessons led to improved outcomes, Westbrook and colleagues observe that "variation in lesson structure challenges students' expectations and makes them alert and engaged" (p. 59). While this may be true, it does not follow that teachers need to provide such variety to be effective, nor that greater predictability renders them less effective. Indeed, one of the most robust findings in the wider ET literature is that ETs frequently have established routines and procedures – reported from 14 studies (e.g., Leinhardt et al., 1987; Gross, 2014) and strongly supported by this one. Learners may find such predictability reassuring, reductive of cognitive load (Kirschner et al., 2006), and enjoyable (see Nurjahan's vocabulary quest game: 8.7.3.1). Only two PTs in this study demonstrated a wider variety of lesson structures (Gajanan and Manjusha), and these often varied in their efficacy. Of the remaining six, their most predictable lesson structures were often also their more systematic and, arguably, effective. For example, beginning lessons with reviews of prior learning (see Westerman, 1991), drawing on learners' background schemata when introducing and interpreting challenging texts (Gudmundsdottir, 1991) or preceding activity work with whole class interactive teaching (Yang, 2014) all seemed to be embedded in many PTs' schemata as structuring heuristics, and—arguably as such—features of their expertise (see Leinhardt &

Greeno, 1986). Thus, it can be reasoned that it is appropriate structuring, rather than variety, that is likely to increase efficacy.

The second notable difference between the findings of this study and Westbrook et al.'s (2013) framework involves preactive (i.e., planned) decision-making to use TLMs to supplement core curricular content (typically the textbook in DC contexts). Of nine studies cited by Westbrook et al. that report the use of TLMs as a contributor to student learning, most involved interventions—particularly the introduction of activity-based learning at primary grades—rather than existing practice (p. 56; e.g., Arkorful, 2013; Addy et al., 2012). While two PTs frequently made use of TLMs, three did so only sometimes, and three rarely, yet all regularly instigated a range of strategies to adapt often overly challenging curriculum content to make it accessible to their learners, especially through the use of bespoke tasks (e.g., Nurjahan's text comprehension questions and Vinay's "conversation with the snake" writing activity) that were delivered orally or via the board. Others made use of impromptu "TLMs", including Gajanan's use of a photograph a girl had brought to class to orient learners towards his lesson topic (see extract 83), or both his and Kuheli's discussions of birds (TLMs of sorts) visiting their classrooms. It is likely that, rather than the use of TLMs per se, it is the supplementation of core curriculum content with activities appropriate to the learners' needs that increases efficacy, something several PTs could do without the need for additional materials (discussed further below), and is potentially more feasible in low resource contexts than the time-consuming, sometimes costly development of TLMs.

11.5. Expectations, inclusivity, confidence building and differentiation

Several notable differences between my findings and those of prior ET studies relate to the issue of teacher expectations of learners. Five prior expertise studies report that ETs "set the bar high" (Milstein, 2015, p. 161) or push their learners to achieve more (Sorensen, 2014; Torff, 2006). However, among the PTs, only one, Kuheli, who worked in the most privileged context (also to a lesser extent Nurjahan, whose learners were also comparatively privileged), was regularly seen to set high standards for her students (e.g., expectations regarding homework completion, pushing learners to justify chosen answers), and she did so most often for the higher performing learners in her classes. All other PTs—and Kuheli, for

her less able pupils—were more often seen to prioritise inclusivity and encouragement, willing to sacrifice even basic expectations to provide opportunities for a greater cross-section of the class to contribute during lessons. This was most obvious in their willingness not simply to allow, but to encourage learners who were not able to contribute to classroom discussions in English to do so in their L1 (observed in all PTs' classes), or their readiness to use the L1 when required themselves. It was also observed in how they adapted (usually simplifying) textbook materials to ensure learner understanding and engagement (e.g., Shekhar's discussion tasks), and in how they would make concessions for poor attenders and learners with potential SENs (e.g., Gajanan's choice to avoid criticising those who had not completed homework but to praise those who had, or the regular concessions that Vinay made to his less motivated male learners). It seems that building learners' self-confidence or self-esteem was a greater priority than setting high standards among PTs. Interestingly, despite being central to the practice of seven PTs, this emphasis on building confidence found only limited support in the ET literature, mentioned by Bullough and Baughman (1993) and Hanusova et al. (2013), who note the importance of "increasing [learners'] confidence with appropriately challenging tasks" (p. 15). Another finding of this study rarely reported in the wider ET literature, PTs' use of learners' names, was also, at times, linked to issues of confidence building and inclusivity. As Nurjahan noted, "…to make them realise that … you are important for me, I use their first names" (Nurjahan/FI/06:00). This emphasis on building learners' self-esteem is an important finding of this study, and likely to be strongly related to the particular contextual challenges involved, such as the overambitious curricula, the influence of prior failure in learning (often as a result of these curricula), and even learners' background (Alcott & Rose, 2017), where both society and even family (see 8.2.1) may impact negatively on learners' self-image. Given that such challenges are common across DCs (Pritchett & Beatty, 2012, 2015), this finding may constitute an important feature of teacher expertise in such contexts.

Because of the often wide ability and motivation ranges in their classes, differentiated learning strategies were regularly seen among PTs, consistent with the ET literature (e.g., Goodwyn, 2011; Hanusova et al., 2013). Five PTs were regularly observed to differentiate by task (e.g., providing extension tasks to faster finishers), five to frequently provide individually differentiated feedback to students, especially during active monitoring, and three to frequently differentiate their own language choice, using learners' L1s when providing support to learners with lower levels of English proficiency; evidence of language

choice differentiation of this type was not noted from any prior teacher expertise studies (multilingual practices are discussed further below) and constitutes another important finding.

These observations suggest that the practice of setting high expectations, while a likely feature of ET practice in more privileged contexts, seems to give way to efforts to maximise inclusion, confidence building and participation as greater priorities of ETs working with disadvantaged learners, at least in Indian secondary classrooms. This was supplemented by a range of differentiation strategies that nonetheless enabled most PTs (not all) to challenge each learner at their most appropriate level and "raise them up", as Nurjahan put it, respective to their diverse zones of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1934).

11.6. Engagement, understanding and thinking skills

A further important finding relates to how PTs scaffolded cognitive development for their learners. Central to the majority of PTs' discussion of their practice in this area were two related, usually strong beliefs: in the importance of keeping learners engaged, and ensuring learner understanding during the lesson. The first of these is well supported in the wider ET literature (e.g., Asaba, 2018; Traianou, 2006), the latter is not, although it may be taken for granted in contexts where lower linguistic diversity and higher proficiency in the medium of instruction are less likely to impact on learner understanding. The strength of this belief among PTs also needs to be contextualised within an educational system where rote memorisation, rather than deeper understanding, is a widespread norm (Bhattacharya, 2013; MHRD, 2020). It was revealing that several PTs saw a causal relationship between these two beliefs – higher engagement may lead to, or even reflect, increased understanding:

> If they engage with [my] activities, it will be like helping them to understand the text on their own. (Nurjahan/PLI2/09:50)

> If the students interact, we like the interaction, I like the interaction, and I think that yes, at least they are understanding what is being taught… (Dipika/PLI6/22:30)

These beliefs echo the recommendations of a key OECD publication on effective teaching practices that also contrasts understanding with rote memorisation:

> …it's not the facts themselves, but understanding them that matters. This has implications for teaching and learning strategies as instead of memorisation, more

> active engagement which aims for student understanding would be appropriate (OECD, 2018, p. 60).

In the classroom, these beliefs manifest themselves in diverse ways, in both this study and the wider ET literature, including the adaptations that PTs made to curricular content to bring it closer to learners' interests and schemata (cf. Chen & Rovegno, 2000), and the regular use of activities that "engage, challenge, and even intrigue students, but neither bore nor overwhelm them" (Bond et al., 2000, p. 130).

Questioning and elicitation strategies were also often seen by PTs as means to increase engagement and build understanding, consistent with prior accounts of ETs (e.g., Chen & Ding, 2018; Traianou, 2006), although a difference to the wider literature was noted in this area. While several prior ET studies note a strong focus on higher order questioning and critical thinking skills among ETs (e.g., Torff, 2006; Varrella, 2000), this was less obvious among PTs, observed regularly only in Kuheli's classes and sometimes in Dipika's and Nurjahan's. Other PTs were more likely to ask lower order questions, most typically to assess and scaffold learner comprehension of text and content, albeit using a variety of both open and closed questioning.

Another, related difference between PTs' practices and those reported in the wider ET literature concerns the use of inductive learning in the classroom. While a number of ET studies reference the regular use of discovery or problem-based learning (e.g., Chen & Rovegno, 2000), these were rarely observed in PTs' classes. The majority of individual and collaborative activities that they provided focused on text comprehension, awareness of literary devices and language meaning. Occasional problem-solving activities mainly involved classifying (see Figure 43), comparing, exemplifying and explaining (all lower order), that nonetheless seemed to engage learners well – unsurprisingly so, when these are contrasted with the more typical memorisation and lockstep practices that most learners were used to.

These observations indicate that, when analysed from the perspective of Bloom's revised taxonomy (Anderson et al., 2001; see Figure 44), PTs' primary focus on understanding differed both from the lower cognitive focus of their peers (for whom remembering predominated) and from the higher order focus of some ETs in higher-income contexts, with Kuheli as the clearest exception. It seems reasonable to conclude that, in contexts where rote learning is the norm and basic understanding remains a challenge, ETs

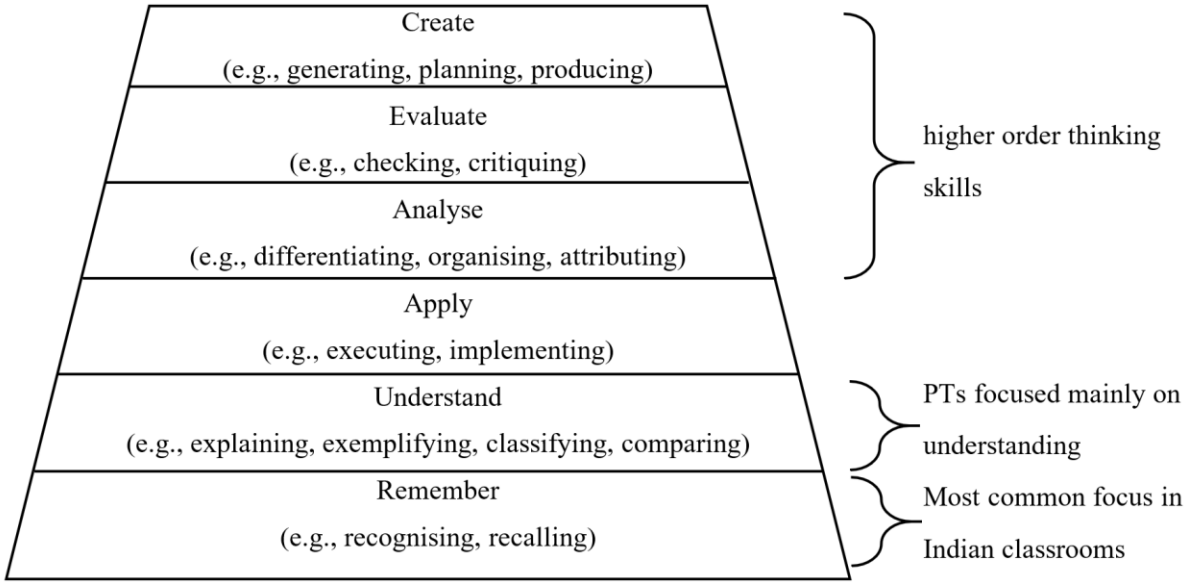
may defer the focus on higher order skills, particularly if these are rarely tested in examinations in the curricular contexts involved – a finding of potentially great significance to teacher education and curriculum development if confirmed by other studies.

Figure 43

One of Shekhar's students engaged in a classification task (Obs. 18, Gr. 9)

Figure 44

PTs' primary cognitive focus: understanding (adapted from Anderson et al., 2001, p. 31)



11.7. Ambitious curricula and text interpretation

A regularly documented challenge in DC contexts relates to curricula, which are often found to be overambitious/overloaded (e.g., Bhattacharjea et al., 2011; Westbrook et al., 2013; World Bank, 2019b; Pritchett & Beatty, 2012), particularly for learners in rural areas (e.g., Alcott & Rose, 2017; Wang, 2011), who are more likely to be first generation school-goers. This finding has been borne out by this study, which regularly documented PTs needing to make changes, take more time than colleagues, and provide additional scaffolding, despite which they still struggled to ensure learner understanding of curriculum content. As one PT noted: "I think that syllabus, sometimes it's not suitable to the students' age or it's a great challenge for them" (Gajanan/ETI/48:40). However, this challenge is exacerbated by an additional factor – the expectation that English teachers working at secondary grades in India teach English language and literature combined, even though many learners are often still struggling with basic literacy (Anderson, 2020b; ASER, 2017, 2018) in what is, for many, their third written script. As Bhattacharya (2013, p. 174) notes, even in a private school context, "children had great difficulty decoding and understanding texts" in English lessons.

This potentially unique challenge has led to the prevalence of a text mediation strategy among Indian English teachers at secondary levels, called *text interpretation* above (see 2.3.3; 9.6.3). Unsurprisingly, there is little prior discussion of this in the ET or DC literature (although see Probyn, 2019, for discussion of similar practices in South Africa), yet it merits discussion here due to important differences between how PTs and NPETs conducted text interpretation, the practices of the latter being more consistent with prior reports from across India (e.g., Bhattacharya, 2013; Meganathan, 2017). Even in the most disadvantaged contexts PTs' text interpretation (e.g., Shekhar, Raju) involved a number of important differences to those of comparable NPETs observed, whose pupils learn only "to imitate, not interpret texts" (Bhattacharya 2013, p. 166), and receive little or no focus on either understanding or specific lexical items (Bhattacharya, 2013; Meganathan, 2017). In contrast to this, PTs scaffolded and assessed learner understanding of texts more carefully, while also providing explanation and documentation of key English language lexis and grammar in the text to facilitate explicit learning. When the text interpretation practices of PTs working with less and more English-proficient learners are compared, a cline of sorts can be identified from more scaffolded support among the former to more independent reading practices by

the latter as learners' English proficiency increases (see Table 22), revealing a 'path' towards independent reading that other English teachers and their learners may be able to navigate notwithstanding the obstacles that social disadvantage and inappropriate curricula place before them.

Table 22

A path from basic to critical text interpretation

Most NPETs (also Bhattacharya, 2013; Meganathan, 2017; Padwad & Dixit, 2018)	**Basic text interpretation**	• Teacher reads and explains or paraphrases text content using mainly L1. • Teacher may ask questions to check comprehension. • Dictation, copying or (occasionally) elicitation of correct answers to textbook or typical exam questions.
Shekhar	**Scaffolded text interpretation**	• Review of prior learning and lead into text. • Teacher reads, translates and explains text using L1, with systematic recording of new lexis (words, expressions, etc.) on board to help learners notice and record key features of English. • Some literary devices and aspects of grammar and culture are also explained and noted on the board. • After each paragraph, teacher provides time for learners to take notes of new lexis and ask questions while teacher monitors. • Use of oral 'developmental questions' to both assess and scaffold learner understanding, sometimes with further clarification. • Collaborative (small group) "discussion" activities focusing on some feature of lexicogrammar from the text, followed by whole class feedback.
	⇩	
Nurjahan	**Independent text interpretation**	• Text introduction, including schemata building and whole class interactive teaching. • Teacher-led pre-teaching of challenging lexis from the text, involving elicitation, boarding and translation. • Whole class reading (teacher reads text once aloud in English while learners follow in books). • Either independent silent reading or collaborative paired reading with focus on bespoke text comprehension questions. Active monitoring by teacher to provide tuition and answer questions. • Feedback to confirm answers to comprehension questions and extend learners' understanding.

	⇩	
Kuheli	**Critical text interpretation**	• Text introduction, including schemata building and whole class interactive teaching. • Learner independent reading (usually silent, individual). • Pairwork tasks with focus on both text comprehension and higher order (critical interpretation) questions with active monitoring of teacher to provide tuition, answer questions. • Extensive feedback to tasks, including dynamic assessment and whole class discussion of text, debate, peer-challenges and discussion.

11.8. Multilingual practices

Probably the most prominent finding of this study that is largely absent from the wider ET literature, yet strongly supported by studies of effective practices from DC countries (see Tables 18 and 20) relates to PTs' complex multilingual practices. Given that the majority of ET literature originates in "monolingual" curricular contexts (e.g., USA, UK, China), and those reliable studies that involve language classrooms contribute very little discussion of multilingualism (e.g., Hanusova et al., 2013, 2014; Tsui, 2003), almost nothing is known about the practices of expert teachers who work in more complex multilingual classrooms. However, given that language diversity is higher, on average, in lower income countries (de Grauwe, 2006), this greater agreement with the DC literature is not surprising, and also predicted by prior research in this area (see, e.g., Heugh, 2021; Makalela, 2015). Findings such as the L1-inclusive practices of PTs, their varied uses of translation, and the use of L1 both to facilitate and assess learner understanding are all notable, and largely consistent with the rapidly expanding literature on good practice regarding L1 use in the L2 classroom (e.g., Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009; Cook, 2010) and on multilingual literacy development (e.g., Cummins, 2011).

The translanguaging practices of PTs documented above may also contribute usefully to the rapidly expanding literature in this area (see, e.g., García et al., 2017), the majority of which has come from the Global North to date (Heugh, 2021), with little detailed qualitative research from India (Lightfoot et al., 2021), although Pallavi's (2020) recent study is an important exception. The combination of spoken translanguaging and largely monolingual English writing among PTs and their learners is particularly interesting, due to it being

largely reflective of wider social practice in India, where written uses of English are typically monolingual (Si, 2011), yet spoken uses are much more translingual, with English resources typically freely integrated into other languages (Agnihotri, 2007). This observation is largely consistent with Anderson's (2018) vision of "translingual teachers" who are "able to model effective translingual and monolingual practices across the translingual continuum" (p. 34), encouraging similar practices among their learners and enabling them to "monolanguage" (p. 32) in exams when required. As Canagarajah notes, "South Asians … acquire the resources that are sufficient for the functions they want that language to perform" (2013, p. 42).

11.9. Professionalism

As discussed in 9.9, findings in this area must be treated with caution, given that two aspects of professional practice were used as selection criteria (role as teacher trainers and engagement in CPD). Nonetheless, there were consistencies between PTs' professional practice and those described in the wider ET literature which were less directly related to these criteria, including their dedication to their work (e.g., Goodwyn, 2011), their belief in the importance of professional communities of practice (e.g., Ulicna et al., 2016), their willingness to support colleagues (e.g., Pepin et al., 2017) and their sustained interest in innovating, experimenting and challenging themselves in the classroom (e.g., Tsui, 2003). In addition to these, evidence that most PTs feel strongly that they benefitted from specific, generally top-down training and workshops in their early career is also important, given current trends towards teacher-led CPD. When brought together, these elements are consistent with Fullan's construct of "collaborative professionalism" (2016), and his discussion of some educators' ability to develop these skills in relative isolation:

> Most countries have cultural instances of collaborative professionalism that may not be entirely obvious. In many cases, these educators have been working under the radar because of misguided policies that focus on testing and evaluation. These leaders can be liberated if the focus shifts from policing standards to involving everyone in the educational system as partners in collaborative professionalism. (Fullan, 2016, para 10)

Of those areas of professional practice less likely to be influenced by the selection criteria used, the finding that almost all PTs reflect extensively—many critically—was also

consistent with the wider ET (e.g., Gross, 2014; Tsui, 2003) and DC (Pryor et al., 2012) literatures, as was evidence of intrinsic self-motivation (e.g., Milstein, 2015), closely linked to PTs' sense of responsibility towards their learners. This relationship is strongly supported in the ET literature by frequent reference to ETs' sense of moral duty or mission underpinning their practice, what Bullough and Baughman call "the heroic dimensions of expertise", noting a "sense of needing to serve young people to the best of [one's] ability" (1995, p. 470; also see Campbell, 1991; Smith & Strahan, 2004). Hanusova et al. (2014, pp. 867–868) draw parallels between this relationship and Korthagen and Vasalos's (2005) discussion of teacher "mission" and its relationship to their construct of "core reflection" (p. 53). It seems likely that this sense of duty fuels ETs' intrinsic motivation, prompting both extensive, critical reflection and a commitment to lifelong professional development even in contexts where there are few opportunities for professional support, as was found in this study.

11.10. Personal attributes of PTs

Of eight personal attributes that are frequently documented among ETs in the literature (see Table 17 above), all but one were also true of all, or almost all PTs, particularly their passion for and enjoyment of their work. While their care for/love of their learners was also supported by the ET literature (and doubtless linked closely to the sense of mission discussed above), a related belief among PTs—in reducing the fear that learners often associated particularly with the school environment but also with English—was not found in the ET studies reviewed, although it was evident in the DC literature. Given the continued prevalence of corporal punishment in some countries, it is revealing that this literature often discusses the need for "safe" learning environments (e.g., Addy et al., 2012, p. 2; OECD, 2018; Westbrook et al., 2013, p. 2). As one teacher highlighted in a recent OECD study: "Learning can not happen if the child's psychological and safety needs are not fulfilled" (OECD, 2018, p. 48), echoing Gajanan's concern above (see 9.3.1).

The only personal attribute noted in the ET literature that was only weakly supported by this study is the observation that ETs are sometimes unusually emotional about their work, for example, when they are not able to meet their own high standards (e.g., Berliner, 1988; Tsui, 2003). While all PTs exhibited high standards of professionalism when compared to colleagues, only one, Kuheli, was seen to become somewhat emotional on two

occasions when she perceived that she had not met these. It is possible that, due to the significant challenges and unpredictable conditions that the PTs face on a daily basis, they have learnt to manage their expectations and emotions correspondingly. Consistent with the beliefs of Indian teachers of English (Anderson, 2020c), qualities such as resilience (strongly supported by this study) and flexibility (also strongly supported as a pedagogic trait) were more evident, and likely of greater importance to their day-to-day emotional wellbeing, enabling PTs to retain, in the main, a positive self-image.

11.11. The "learner-centred" question

Perhaps one of the most frequently debated questions with regard to effective teaching practices in developing countries concerns the degree to which such practices are/should be consistent with those advocated in "child-centred" or "learner-centred" models of education (LCE) that are frequently promoted through change initiatives in DCs (see, e.g., Alexander, 2008; Schweisfurth, 2013; Tabulawa, 1998, 2003). This is a question of particular relevance in India, given references to LCE in key policy documents (e.g., MHRD, 2020, p. 3), as well as the numerous change programs involving it, many of which report challenges in its implementation (Brinkmann, 2015; Sriprakash, 2012). In light of the varied ways in which LCE is frequently characterised or invoked without definition (Alexander, 2008), the discussion below draws upon Bremner's (2021, p. 181) empirically-derived 6-aspect framework for LCE (my clarifying terms added in square brackets):

1. Active participation (including interaction)
2. Relevant skills (real-life and higher order skills)
3. Adapting [instruction] to [learners'] needs (including human needs)
4. Power sharing [between teacher and learners]
5. [Learner] Autonomy (including metacognition)
6. Formative assessment

This definition, like others, is problematisable, particularly with regard to how the individual elements are construed; for example, what constitutes "active" participation will depend greatly on local norms in a given context. The current study, nonetheless, provides a

useful opportunity to discuss these through comparison of PTs' practices to those of the 33 NPTs observed; PTs' learners' opinions of the "good teacher" are also briefly discussed, as further contextualising data.

In several areas PTs' practices were further along the cline towards LCE than those of NPTs, albeit to varying degrees (see Chapter 10). Perhaps the most obvious of these is the much higher likelihood of PTs providing learners with independent learning activities (as manifestations of *active participation*, *power sharing* and *autonomy*), and the time, space and necessary support through active monitoring (*adapting instruction to learners' needs*), to complete them. While such activities were occasionally observed among NPTs (in 25% of lessons), they were often rushed and only once conducted collaboratively (with little success). Among PTs, such activities were more often collaborative, and invariably successful insomuch as most learners worked autonomously and interacted together well, although there was variation here (see 9.6.4). Secondly, all PTs, in varying ways, were seen to be *adapting* curriculum content *to learners' needs* (including their interests and ability levels), by personalising content, drawing parallels to learners' lives and experiences, and (less often) replacing textbook activities with more appropriate alternatives that also took into account their interests (e.g., Manjusha's sewing and cooking materials) and capacities (e.g., Shekhar's and Gajanan's simplified alternatives to textbook exercises) – this was rarely seen in NPT lessons. As a result of this, PTs typically took longer than comparable peers to "complete the syllabus", evidence of their teaching progressing more at their learners' pace than that of their colleagues.

In other areas, evidence was more mixed. Informal *formative assessment* was regularly observed, typically integrated into whole class instruction (e.g., through questioning) and independent activities (e.g., while monitoring), although more formal formative assessment was rare. The regular negotiation of most PTs constituted *power sharing* practices, offering learners more control than is typical in Indian classrooms, although this was usually limited to the "how", rather than the "what" of learning. Further, PTs integration of practical (*real-life*) and *higher order skills* in their teaching varied, with only Kuheli frequently doing the latter, and most focusing as much on exam skills as on practical language use skills.

Thus, while the practices of all PTs were generally more learner-centred than comparable peers, it would be an oversimplification to attempt to use this construct as the primary means for characterising commonalities among them. Most also made frequent use

of teacher-led (albeit interactive) whole class instruction, with the content defined primarily by the curriculum and the selection, sequencing and pacing primarily by the teacher. With perhaps three exceptions (Vinay, Manjusha and Gajanan), this constituted generally strong "framing" (see 10.4) in the Bernsteinian sense of the term (2000).

Further, definitions of learner-centredness (Bremner, 2021; Schweisfurth, 2013), rarely emphasise what was arguably the most powerful commonality among PTs: the safe, supportive, relationships of trust, respect and enjoyment that they all cultivated in their classrooms; what Bremner (2021) calls the "humanistic role" was found to be rare in definitions of LCE (p. 174). Even considering variation observed among PTs, these relationships were usually much more parental and compassionate than "democratic" (Schweisfurth, 2013, p. 12), born of a humanistic desire to lead and guide, more than a need to offer up control to their learners. What is more, clear evidence emerged that PTs' learners did not want more control over the learning process. On several occasions, Manjusha, Gajanan and Nurjahan had to convince their students—even overrule them (ironically) while negotiating—that they would do something more collaborative or specific to their personal interests when the learners requested either teacher-led reading or exam practice. Most telling in this regard are the findings of the learner focus group tasks in which they were asked to rank 10 qualities of a good teacher. On average, across all PTs, learners prioritised characteristics that indicated a stronger preference for transmissive, teacher-led, yet equitable pedagogy (see Table 23).

Table 23

Average learner ranks and scores of ten qualities of a 'good teacher'

Rank order	Qualities of a 'good teacher'	Rank score[1]
1	Explains things very clearly so that we all understand	**4.08**
2	Helps all of the students equally	**4.11**
3	Corrects our work and helps us to improve it	**4.70**
4	Helps us to prepare for examinations well	**5.06**
5	Asks many questions to the students	**5.58**
6	Knows her/his subject well	**5.74**
7	Plans lessons carefully	**5.77**
8	Tells students to work in pairs and in groups	**5.90**
9	Is kind and cares for the students	**5.93**
10	Plays many games in class with the students	**8.14**

Note. 1. Average rank across 99 groups of 3–5 learners.

Learners' perceptions of teacher role are likely to be conditioned by all the teachers they are exposed to, and this may cause them, on average, to expect less learner-centred instruction than the PTs were providing. It may be that these expectations, alongside those of colleagues, parents and institutional norms (a local *habitus* of sorts; Bourdieu, 1977), served to limit the extent to which some PTs were able to develop a more learner-centred pedagogy. As such, it was revealing that the learners of Vinay, who used collaborative learning the most, ranked the use of pair and groupwork lowest, on average (m = 7.8; 12 groups), of all PTs' pupils.

11.12. Subject-specific discussion: PTs' practices as language teachers

The generally non-subject-specific nature of this study is premised on the assumption that the majority of ET practices hold true irrespective of subject differences; a premise confirmed by the numerous shared findings discussed above. However, it is also possible to consider the extent to which the practices of PTs are consistent with theory and research on how additional/second languages are learnt (i.e., the SLA literature), and related discussions on appropriate/good practice in communicative language teaching (CLT), the currently dominant paradigm in discourse on best practice in language teaching. This is, however, a complex discussion, as most such literature originates in the Global North, particularly Anglophone countries, with a stronger focus on tertiary and adult education than mainstream curricular (primary and secondary) contexts (Canagarajah, 1999; Holliday, 1994). To date, this literature largely neglects the challenges of language learning in the Global South (Anderson et al., 2021; Banegas et al., in press), where school readiness and access, literacy development, ambitious curricula and exam washback are all much stronger influences on what happens in classrooms than the psycholinguistic processes investigated in much SLA research. Keeping this in mind, the following observations are, nonetheless, worthy of note.

The first such observation concerns the variation found in PTs' conceptions of subject (see Chapter 10). Vinay taught English primarily as language, adopting a fluency-first, meaning-focused approach to the development of his learners' four skills. While he prioritised reading and writing skills, he also developed their speaking and listening through his own English-mainly interaction with them, the regular use of AV materials and frequent

learner presentations on project progress, which allowed opportunities for negotiation, corrective feedback and form-focus as required, responsive to needs (i.e., Focus on Form; Long, 2015). All of these practices are consistent with recommendations in the SLA literature, which typically promotes meaning-focused, skills-oriented instruction (e.g., Ellis & Shintani, 2014). Further, his project-based cycles of learning often bore similarities to some models of task-based language teaching (e.g., Willis, 1996; Nunan, 2004), albeit over longer time frames, involving more complex translingual practices among learners and a stronger exam influence on project design than the task-based literature typically recommends. In contrast to this, Dipika taught English more as subject, focusing primarily on building her learners' declarative knowledge of lexis, grammar and discourse using mainly Hindi (the school MOI) to do this rapidly, with a secondary focus on reading and writing skills. Her strong focus on lexis—the single strongest predictor of reading ability (Miralpeix & Muñoz, 2018)—meant that her grade 10 learners were found to have quite extensive passive vocabularies, averaging c. 1,900 words (c. A2; n = 22; range: 1,200–2,700), contributing to her consistently high SSC exam pass rates. However, there was very little focus on monolingual English speaking and listening skills in her classes.

When analysed from this perspective, Vinay's practices can be argued to be more conducive than Dipika's to the more implicit acquisition processes typically valued in the SLA literature. His is, from a Bernsteinian perspective, a "competence model" (2000, p. 45), and demonstrates that some expert teachers working in challenging contexts are able to employ fairly communicative approaches to language teaching, at least when given the freedom to do this across several grades before the stronger SSC exam focus of grade 10. Dipika's approach is closer to a "performance model" (Bernstein, 2000, p. 45), consistent with the expectations of her learners,[44] their parents and the school management. Whether or not Vinay's approach would work in her larger classes within a more tightly monitored, exam-focused system, remains an open question; certainly it would be more difficult. My earlier investigation into the beliefs of Indian teachers of English (Anderson, 2020c) indicates that, while beliefs in TEaS and TEaL are both common in one professional community, awareness of CLT and SLA theory are not (also see Bhattacharya, 2013), evidence that Vinay's approach (and awareness of authors such as Prabhu and Krashen) is

[44] In the rank order task, Dipika's learners, on average, ranked "helps us to prepare for examinations well" second of ten qualities of a "good teacher" (n = 20 groups); Vinay's learners ranked the same quality fifth.

unusual, if not exceptional. The only prior accounts of the methodology of expert language teachers' (Andrews & McNeill, 2005; Tsui, 2003) describe practitioners who combine regular explicit, often predictive form focus with meaningful practice opportunities, suggesting a weaker, "task-supported" communicative approach (Anderson, 2020d) than is typically recommended in the SLA literature.

This TEaL/TEaS distinction is, however, only one way of interpreting difference among PTs with regard to how they taught English. It interacted in complex ways with their dual role as teachers of English language and literature. In her comparatively small classes of mainly middle class learners in urban Kolkata, Kuheli was able to simultaneously develop both language skills and literature knowledge without necessarily having to prioritise one or the other. As well as providing meaningful opportunities for skills development, she was able to develop her learners' critical text interpretation skills, higher order thinking and appreciation of literature and literary devices; similarities were found as much to the practices of ETs of English literature in higher income contexts (e.g., Goodwyn, 2011; Gudmundsdottir, 1991) as they were to SLA/CLT notions of best practice. Importantly, she was the only PT for whose learners the curriculum and textbooks were not too ambitious – a potential insight into how such an approach was possible for her. The practices of two other PTs (Raju, Nurjahan), could be analysed usefully from a content and language integrated learning (CLIL) perspective (e.g., Ball et al., 2016) insomuch as their focus was primarily on the content of their 'subject' (English literature), yet they also facilitated their learners' language development in ways consistent with CLIL recommendations, particularly with regard to multilingual practices (e.g., Kiely, 2011; Nikula & Moore, 2019), to enable them to read texts, interact in class and write about the subject in the "target language". Raju was also seen to embed aspects of other subjects in his English lessons, including social studies, science or maths. Interestingly, one of Yuan and Zhang's ETs (2019, p. 16) also mentions her adoption of a soft-CLIL approach in her classroom.

Aside from this discussion of PTs' global approaches to teaching English, there were numerous discrete practices observed among them that were consistent with recommendations in what might be called the secondary or popular literature on language teaching, much of which promotes a "weak" version of CLT (Howatt, 1984, p. 279). This includes, for example, Nurjahan's pre-teaching of lexis before texts (e.g., Watkins, 2014), Gajanan's live listening tasks (e.g., Harmer, 2007), and both Shekhar's and Nurjahan's teaching of lexical chunks and collocations, which were largely consistent with Lewis's

Lexical Approach (Lewis, 1993). The active monitoring roles that almost all PTs adopted bear strikingly similarity to many of the teacher roles recommended by Harmer (2001, pp. 57–63), and both Nurjahan and Shekhar made some use of concept and instruction check questions (e.g., Thornbury & Watkins, 2007), although this was often done through the L1, evidence of 'adaptation' rather than uncritical 'adoption' of such practices. It is notable that, of all these practices, only two (Nurjahan's pre-teaching of lexis and hers and Shekhar's use of check questions) were reported as acquired from training events. Most were discussed by PTs as personal innovations, having developed in relative isolation from this literature.

Most PTs also made occasional use of specific activity and game types promoted in the popular CLT literature, such as Back to the Board, Board Race, Find Someone Who and Rub Out and Replace (see, e.g., Harmer, 2007). These had often been picked up during workshops and training events, particularly British Council initiatives. However, they were less obviously integrated into PTs' practices than those discussed in the previous paragraph, and were more often used to provide variety as "'time out' activities" (Westbrook et al., 2013, p. 57) or on occasions when, due to circumstances beyond their control, they could not progress with their normal curriculum content. Examples of this include Vinay's use of a "Running Dictation" game (Scrivener, 2005) in one class when textbooks still hadn't arrived and his use of an "Onion Discussion" (Klippel, 1984) when two classes had to be merged. However, the most obvious evidence that such activities were rarely central to PTs' practices revealed itself on the only occasion when I witnessed a PT being observed by a local school inspector (Gajanan, Obs. 36). Very obvious changes were noticed in both his lesson preparation (it was more extensive) and delivery. He taught a "display lesson" consistent with expectations of good practice in the weak CLT literature, including a "Find Your Partner" activity involving the use of lexical flash cards, and a groupwork information gap reading and listening activity involving pre-assigned reading questions (e.g., Littlewood, 1981). This was notable evidence that Gajanan could teach in ways that mirrored such "imported" practices. The fact that he did not do so on a daily basis was evidence of their limited impact on his own theories-in-use; similarly for Vinay. Of the eight PTs, Nurjahan was probably the only one for whom there was consistent evidence of more regular, systematic integration of such activities (e.g., "Slap the board" used to revise recent lexis) into her highly eclectic practice.

11.13. Conclusion

By comparing the findings of this study to the wider literature, this chapter has addressed the third question posed by this thesis, providing clear evidence that there is strong agreement between the most prominent shared practices among PTs and the more robust findings of the wider ET literature across all major domains investigated (cognition, pedagogy, professionalism). However, it has also found evidence of a number of important differences, and argued that, in the majority of cases, these differences are likely to result from important contextual constraints and affordances. These differences include the PTs' prioritisation of inclusion and confidence-building over setting high standards, their focus on learner understanding over higher order thinking skills, their varied strategies for helping learners to assimilate content from highly ambitious curricula, and their complex multilingual practices – to date overlooked in the ET literature. It has also found many similarities to the key recommendations of Westbrook et al.'s (2013) review of the literature on effective teaching in developing countries, including particularly the importance of safe and inclusive learning environments and foci on interactive teaching and formative feedback for learners.

This chapter has also highlighted important aspects of PTs' professionalism, particularly a commitment to serving their learners that linked directly to their reflective practices, and their personal attributes, where their passion for their work, care for their learners and concern to reduce "fear" in the classroom were noted. While the discussion of learner-centred education above has noted generally more learner-centred practices than those of their colleagues, I have also tried to emphasise that this construct is not sufficient as a means to understand both the individual complexity and the comparative variety in their practices, and also noted that definitions of LCE underemphasise the importance of the safe supportive environments that were found in all eight PTs' classrooms.

With regard to subject-specific pedagogy (ELT), no firm conclusions were drawn; while some PTs' practices were fairly consistent with recommendations in the SLA literature, others were not (both contextual factors and personal beliefs were important influences here). And while many practices recommended in the language teaching literature are documented among PTs, evidence that some could teach in ways that mirrored best practice notions in this literature, but chose not to, indicates an ability to appropriate critically from this exogenous knowledge base; evidence of context-specific, independently-evolved expertise among the participant teachers.

Chapter 12. Conclusion

This study set out to provide a detailed description of the pedagogy, cognition and professionalism of expert teachers working in the Global South, with India as the chosen context. It aimed to compare these, both across cases and to the wider literature to identify insightful similarities and differences. It was justified primarily through the claim that such descriptions are potentially of great value to attempts to improve the quality of pedagogy in developing countries, supported by evidence that very little such prior research has been conducted. While it was not possible to include detailed case descriptions of all PTs (due to length limitations), three such descriptions, representative of the variety observed, are provided, and this is followed by further discussion of the full cohort, supported by numerous data extracts, to identify similarities and differences among them.

The study found evidence of many important shared features, including many that are largely predicted by the ET literature, some that are not but are found in the literature on effective pedagogy in developing countries, and others that are found in neither. It found evidence in the PTs' cognition of the extensive, integrated knowledge typical of ETs, well-developed reflective skills and, in their personas, evidence of self-efficacy and an intrinsic motivation for professional development, fuelled by a desire to serve their learners, whose opinions they value above all others. The greatest differences among PTs were observed in their classroom practice (a finding of several prior comparative case studies of ETs; e.g., Milstein, 2015; Sorensen, 2014) – the supporting evidence offered above indicates that both local context and teacher beliefs are important influences on expert teacher pedagogy.

This final chapter discusses the implications and recommendations resulting from the study as well as its limitations. It concludes by suggesting a number of directions for future research.

12.1. Contributions and implications

12.1.1. Researching teacher expertise

12.1.1.1. *Building on Palmer et al. (2005)*

This study provides a revised list of criteria for the recruitment of participants for teacher expertise studies to update Palmer et al.'s (2005) initial review (see Table 6 in 4.2). It offers a wider, more versatile range of criteria, categorised into "prerequisite", "potential" and "likely indicators" of expertise that other researchers may find useful.

This study also demonstrates that a multiple-criteria approach to participant recruitment is feasible, even in developing countries, offering a flexible, yet robust and transparent selection procedure. This is particularly useful in contexts where both student exam achievement and stakeholder nomination may be less reliable as indicators; combining multiple criteria reduces the danger of errors in the identification process.

12.1.1.2. *Participatory expert teacher case studies are possible and equitable*

To my knowledge, this is the first expert teacher case study conducted involving a participatory element. While it was not participant-led (this was never an intention; see 4.1.1), it demonstrates that it is possible to offer a degree of agency and equity to participants in researcher-led studies, enabling them to contribute to decisions regarding the study focus and outcomes, producing a tangible product (their publication) that both they and I feel is useful to their practitioner community. It offers a possible model for non-interventionist studies to be participatory without requiring that participants engage in the time-consuming, often unfamiliar process of data collection and analysis themselves, making it potentially transferrable to other types of non-interventionist studies (e.g., ethnographic, phenomenological, narrative enquiry, etc.). This participatory element is likely to be particularly useful to future studies in the Global South, where power differentials between researchers and participants may be significant (Adolphs et al., 2016).

Because ET studies are, by their nature, likely to report mainly positive findings, including a participatory element can offer both recognition and voice to participants; the former through the option to be identified (i.e., as non-anonymous participants) and the latter through the opportunity for them to produce their own descriptions of their practice that serve as *alternative narratives* to those of the researcher. While future participatory expertise

studies may choose not to include such narratives, they may prove particularly useful to projects adopting a critical theory perspective.

12.1.2. Understanding expert teachers

12.1.2.1. *Shaping the expert teacher prototype*

Sternberg and Horvath's (1995) expert teacher prototype, as a description of "the similarity of expert teachers to one another" (p. 9) has proven an influential construct, since fleshed out by further research (e.g., Lin & Li, 2011; Smith & Strahan, 2004). The current study, through both its comprehensive literature review and its findings has identified 89 features of ETs that are supported by five or more studies (including this one; see Table 17); to my knowledge, this is the most detailed description of an ET prototype to date. While still lacking detail in some areas (e.g., aspects of assessment), this description is of obvious potential use to researchers, policy makers and teacher educators in a range of fields (e.g., pre-service teacher education, in-service teacher professional development, methodology research, curriculum design; see Silberstein & Tamir, 1991).

12.1.2.2. *An initial expert teacher prototype for low-income contexts*

Although this study has found many features in common with those in the prior ET literature, the differences have nonetheless proved important, and are often related to the challenges of the contexts in which the participants worked. This includes several features from the wider ET literature that were not broadly true of my participants, and several shared features among them that are rarely reported in the ET literature but often found in studies of effective practices in developing countries (see Tables 17, 18 and 20). It also includes a number of features that were documented in neither (Table 21). When considered together, these findings help to sketch out an initial, contingent ET prototype for challenging contexts, one that requires corroboration from comparable studies in other low-income contexts, as some of the findings may be specific to India. Such a prototype is potentially of significant value, given how little is known about effective pedagogy in developing country contexts (see Pryor et al., 2012; Alexander, 2015), particularly with regard to indigenous practices (as opposed to exogenous interventions) – see the next section.

12.1.3. Practical Implications

12.1.3.1. *Improving the quality of education in developing countries*

While it is dangerous to generalise from a comparative case study involving eight participant teachers from the same country (albeit three different curricular contexts), given documented similarities to robust findings from prior ET studies and/or findings from studies of effective teaching in developing countries, I here offer three observations and related, tentative suggestions for improving the quality of education in low-income contexts.

Firstly, this study provides confirmation that a number of important, connected, affective features of ETs consistently hold true regardless of context; ETs seem to care about their learners, feel a sense of moral duty towards them and accept primary responsibility for their welfare and learning, something also prominent in the literature on effective teachers (see Stronge, 2007). As a result, they tend to be dedicated, hard working and reflective in their desire to improve. This propensity to care, feel a sense of responsibility and work hard to fulfil it, is likely to be a personal characteristic (Agne, 1992), rather than a learnt one, largely independent of training, qualification or experience. As Wiliam (2010) has pointed out, once recruited, a teacher is likely to remain part of an educational system for several decades. Thus, this study supports the claim that consideration of attitudinal characteristics during teacher recruitment procedures could help to improve long-term teacher quality (Agne, 1992) – a relatively low-cost way to improve educational quality itself. This is particularly important in India, where the Teacher Eligibility Tests widely used in recruitment procedures focus predominantly on explicit knowledge and include little or no focus on appropriate affective qualities of applicants (e.g., CTET, 2019), despite evidence that affective qualities can be tested psychometrically (see, e.g., Saloviita, 2015).

Secondly, consistent with Westbrook et al. (2013), other recent research (e.g., Tsimpli et al., 2020) and leading authorities in the area (e.g., Heugh et al., 2019), this study finds clear evidence of the importance of multilingual practices in the classrooms of expert teachers working in developing countries, an area of practice that rarely receives sufficient attention in teacher education programmes, teaching materials or teacher guides in the Global South, especially for English language teaching and EMI (Simpson, 2019). This suggests there is an urgent need for more guidance in this area, which may draw, in part, on the practices of local expert teachers. Further research is also required, especially to understand the complex translingual practices documented in this and other studies (e.g.,

Pallavi, 2020), particularly given that the majority of current translanguaging theory originates in the Global North and cannot be assumed to apply to the South (Heugh, 2021).

Thirdly, this study supports a frequent finding concerning effective teaching approaches, also documented in the wider ET literature (see Table 17) – that many (not all) effective/expert teachers strike a balance between whole class teaching (invariably interactive) and the use of learner-independent activities (both collaborative and individual), as found in Adams and Engelmann's (1996) "Direct Instruction", which Hattie (2009, pp. 204–207) ranks as one of the most effective instructional approaches. While this finding supports a move towards more learner-centred practices in India (the regular inclusion of learner-independent activity work documented among PTs is comparatively rare in India), it also indicates a clear role for teacher-led whole-class instruction (see Kirschner et al., 2006). This finding, and the related observation that the eight PTs only made occasional use of inductive instructional approaches (such as guided discovery), suggests that the above documented balance, and the focus on engagement and understanding that most PTs prioritised above higher order thinking skills may be more suitable, and more realistic, in challenging contexts worldwide.

12.1.4. Context-appropriate pedagogy in English language teaching

Despite numerous prominent authors documenting the nature and importance of context-appropriate pedagogy in ELT (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999; Holliday, 1994; Kuchah, 2013; Kumaravadivelu, 2003), it is notable that little has changed with regard to the dissemination of best practice discourse from the Anglophone "centre" (Phillipson, 1992), nor indeed in the development of more local pedagogies for ELT around the world (Anderson et al., 2021); practices originating primarily in andragogic language teaching contexts (see Howatt, 1988) tend to be promoted uncritically worldwide, despite concerns regarding their feasibility, impact or sustainability in mainstream primary and secondary pedagogy (Bruton, 2005; Mitchell & Lee, 2003).[45]

With the exception of Tsui's (2003) case study (which only included one ET), what has been largely lacking to date are detailed descriptions of effective practice among local expert practitioners to inform models of context-specific pedagogy. I believe this study

[45] Here "andragogy" is used in its original meaning: the method and practice of teaching adult learners, and contrasted with pedagogy, the teaching of children.

offers useful insights for one national context, contributing to a knowledge base for the development of India-specific pedagogical expertise in ELT.

This study finds more similarities between PTs' practices and the wider literature on expert/effective *pedagogy* in mainstream education than with currently dominant (*andragogic*) models of best practice in ELT (e.g., CLT). This suggests that ELT initiatives in India—possibly also in other contexts in the Global South—may benefit by focusing primarily on areas of pedagogy demonstrated to be practicable, sustainable and consistent with mainstream research on effective pedagogy, as this study has done for the use of independent learner activities, interactive whole class teaching, active monitoring and inclusive multilingual practices. This may be more successful than promoting specific components of CLT (e.g., its strong focus on monolingual "target language" oral interaction among learners in the classroom) that are rarely documented as feasible, appropriate or useful in mainstream pedagogy around the world (see Holliday, 1994; Littlewood, 2014; Smith & Imura, 2004; Wang & Luo, 2019). The struggle that so many Indian English language learners face in gaining basic literacy in English to enable them to pass written exams across the curriculum and gain access to further education (see Annamalai, 2005) both explains and justifies Indian English teachers' typically prioritising reading and writing above oral skills in a language that the majority of children across India's rural heartland may never need to speak (at least not monolingually) in their lives.

While my discussion here is of an India-appropriate secondary pedagogy, my prior experience as a teacher educator across Africa, Asia and Europe tell me that the challenges and affordances that the participants in this study experience hold much more in common with those of other secondary teachers around the world than the concerns and interests of those working in the well-resourced, mixed-L1, mainly adult classrooms of universities and private language schools in the west where CLT originated (Howatt, 1988). Nonetheless, further studies, comparable to this one, are required in other mainstream contexts if we are to develop more detailed understandings of context appropriate ELT *pedagogies* (rather than *andragogies*) around the world.

12.1.5. Reflections on education and teacher education in India

All of the implications discussed thus far are likely to apply to teacher education in India, but have been discussed for their potential relevance to contexts worldwide. The following reflections are likely to be more India-specific.

An unexpected finding of this study, the irregular and unpredictable length of lessons in 10 of 12 schools visited due to bells being rung manually by peons (see 9.5.2), has important implications if two deleterious consequences observed are found to be more widespread across India. Firstly, an apparent bias towards shorter lessons on average may be reducing overall time on task, and learning as a result (see Hattie, 2009, p. 184). Secondly, teachers may have difficulty structuring lessons when length is unpredictable, making it particularly challenging to conclude lessons effectively (see 9.6.1). A relatively low-cost solution, the use of automated school bells (observed in the other two, larger schools), could eliminate this problem. If adopted widely, such a solution may increase net learning significantly, although further research is required to confirm this finding.

A second reflection relates to a practice that I have called *text interpretation* in this thesis, observed in many PT and NPET classes. Regular reports of comparable practices (Bhattacharya, 2013; Kumar, 2005; Meganathan, 2017; Padwad & Dixit, 2018) indicate that this is a widespread, complex, potentially "hidden pedagogy" (Anderson, 2020b) across India. Its prevalence is likely to result from two phenomena: a tendency towards overambitious English curricula, exacerbated by the inclusion of literature studies before many learners have gained basic literacy; and a lack of training in TESOL or EMI instruction among many teachers (Bhattacharya, 2013; Chattopadhyay, 2020). This combination causes many teachers to engage in *basic text interpretation* only (see 11.7), translating and paraphrasing texts without equipping their learners with the skills or lexis to access these texts independently (Bhattacharya, 2013). As a result, Indian secondary learners often become dependent on teachers to explain texts, dictate answers to common exam questions and engage in rote memorisation practices (Bhattacharya, 2013; Padwad & Dixit, 2018), something that the recent National Education Policy aims to reduce (MHRD, 2020). Two potential changes may help here, both in English lessons and lessons of other subjects taught in English. Firstly, the provision of appropriate TESOL and EMI (e.g., CLIL) teacher education, particularly pre-service, rather than the more common current qualification path involving English literature degrees (Chattopadhyay, 2020; Padwad, 2020), is likely to

increase teacher awareness of their learners' needs and appropriate supportive practices with regard to foreign language learning. Secondly, in agreement with Pratham's Teaching at the Right Level and Read India initiatives at primary level,[46] secondary English curricula may need to be simplified for most learners, particularly those who have little or no exposure to English outside the classroom. As Pritchett & Beatty (2012, p. i) note, "Paradoxically, learning could go faster if curricula and teachers were to slow down". Given that this will take time, the exploration of different approaches to text interpretation (as shown in Table 22) in both pre-service and in-service teacher education is likely to be useful.

Finally, India has a commendable tradition of celebrating "outstanding teachers" (MHRD, 2020, p. 22), particularly through the awarding of prizes (see, e.g., NCERT, 2017). However, these prizes tend to be awarded based on local recommendations, exam results or submission of written documents (e.g., Indian Teacher Innovation Awards), and rarely involve direct assessment of classroom practice. As a result, little concrete understanding of exactly what effective Indian teachers do in their classrooms is gained from the process. Studies such as this one may help to build this understanding, enabling more robust, ecologically valid criteria to be developed for such awards. If combined with research into the practices of such "outstanding teachers", a more detailed understanding of appropriate, effective Indian pedagogy would likely result, and lead to more useful resources being developed (e.g., classroom videos or practical publications by such teachers; see Gode et al., 2021).

12.2. Limitations of the study

Like all PhD studies, this one is limited by the single authorship requirement. While the support of supervisors and the collaboration of participant teachers have been invaluable, I would have benefitted from the opportunity to work with other researchers (e.g., through the data collection, coding and interpretation processes). Despite extensive prior experience in the Global South, my personal background as a researcher from the North must be included in this concern and is likely to have influenced the findings. As such, the possibility of unconscious bias, mistranslations and misunderstandings influencing findings is ever-present. Measures put in place to ensure transparency, rigour and reflexivity have, I hope,

[46] www.teachingattherightlevel.org See Banerji & Chavan (2016).

mitigated some of these limitations, as has the opportunity for participants' voices to be heard through their self-authored publication; their accounts can be compared with mine (see Gode et al., 2021). However, the study should always be read and interpreted critically with this limitation in mind.

A second concern relates to the limited extent of the 3–4 week field visits involved in this study. While this meets Stake's (2006) minimum remit for multiple case studies, and provides an adequate sample of each PT's day-to-day practice for analysis, this study does not document their yearly work cycles, and may have underreported on certain practices as a result (e.g., several PTs noted that I had not seen much writing work because this is usually a focus of the second half of their academic year), potentially leaving a number of features of their expertise undocumented.

12.3. Directions for future research

Despite the large sums of money invested into improving the quality of education in the Global South, to date we still know very little about what effective teaching looks like in low-income contexts (Muralidharan, 2017; Pryor et al., 2012). As Alexander has repeatedly pointed out (e.g., 2008, 2015), global monitoring frameworks and related quantitative research on "What works to improve the quality of student learning in developing countries" (Masino & Nino-Zarazua, 2016, p. 53) provide little, if any, insights into effective pedagogic practice, often reporting on quantitative studies that treat stakeholders in educational systems as subjects in behavioural experiments (e.g., Das et al., 2004; Glewwe et al., 2010; Gandhi Kingdon & Teal, 2007), rather than participants in the highly complex, socioculturally embedded process of educational change (Fullan, 2007).

Metareviews focusing on the classroom (e.g., Pryor et al., 2012; Westbrook et al., 2013) have provided more useful insights into practices of promise that nonetheless require further investigation; given that the majority of impactful studies reported on in such metareviews involve external interventions, those that are found to improve learning outcomes (however conceived) may not be sustainable once the initial honeymoon period of enthusiasm and support has passed. There are numerous examples in the literature of interventions that show promise in small scale pilot studies only to face significant

challenges or demonstrate little impact when scaled up (e.g., Banerjee et al., 2016; Bold et al., 2013; UNICEF, 2015), despite the inevitable costs involved.

Research that begins by studying—or even better, working with—practising teachers in a given context with the aim of understanding their practices and identifying those that are likely to lead to more learning offers a different, context-sensitive approach to improving quality that is more likely to be sustainable insomuch as it *is* already sustaining itself. The fact that such practices originate locally indicates that they are feasible, culturally appropriate and any evidence of impact comes with high ecological validity. They are also more likely to appeal to local practitioners' "sense of plausibility" than external initiatives, something Prabhu (1990) argued is critical to the success of methodological interventions, based largely on his own experiences in language teacher education in India.

Certainly, further teacher expertise studies in the Global South will be useful. They are likely to confirm some of the findings of this study and contradict others, thereby enabling us to flesh out the expert teacher prototype for challenging contexts with the predicted resultant benefits to teacher education, curricula development and educational policy. However, other research designs may also be informative, including *whole person* studies (e.g., matched pair studies), alongside those that explore specific aspects of expert teacher practice or cognition in detail. Those that provide insight into specific perspectives on teacher expertise will also be of use, such as the opinions and perceptions of learners and parents – something this study was only able to do at a basic level; see Lamb and Wedell (2013) for an insightful study of learner opinions in low-income contexts.

Other ways of starting from the classroom practice of expert teachers may include engaging in teacher-led collaborative research with them, rather than the more limited participatory approach adopted here. This could involve action research, peer-mentoring or lesson study projects (see, e.g., Rebolledo et al., 2016).

Finally, the experience and insights of expert practitioners may play a useful role in the introduction of top-down innovations than typically happens at present, including their involvement at early (i.e., design) stages of a project to increase the likelihood of successful implementation and sustainability.

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Studies of teacher expertise, if defined, investigated and reported on with sensitivity to the context in question may also help in the development of what has been called “southern theory” in academic literature (e.g., Connell, 2007), involving the investigation and establishment of alternative epistemologies—both from and for the Global South—to disrupt the long history of northern theory in social science. The development of southern theory is particularly important in education (Pennycook & Makoni, 2020), where policy decisions, curricula and classroom practices both reflect and influence wider social concerns and trends (Bruner, 1996; Tabulawa, 2003). And while attempts by northern authors (such as mine) to begin to theorise effective pedagogy from within the classrooms of southern practitioners will inevitably reveal shortcomings due to the bias inherent in the northern gaze, they may at least offer potential research questions, methodological tools and inspiration for research in the future.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Expression of interest form (stage 1 of recruitment)

Invitation to a participatory research project

I am conducting a study into effective teaching in India as part of my PhD research at the University of Warwick. The main research objective is to document and understand the practices of a small number of effective secondary school teachers. An additional aim is to produce useful resources for other teachers in India based on the findings. I would like the project to be participatory, with the teachers involved contributing to the design and the emphasis of the study, as well as deciding what practical resources it should produce. I expect to spend several weeks with each teacher at their school during the 2019-2020 academic year, observing lessons, conducting interviews and documenting resources and practices. A preliminary workshop will be arranged for early 2019 so that we can plan the study together and decide what resources may be useful. I hope that participating teachers will find it interesting and will learn from the experience, however, as it is a PhD study, I cannot offer any payment to participants. They should take part only out of personal interest.

The biggest challenge of this study is deciding how to identify "effective" teachers. I am using a 2-stage process with the help of the AINET community: http://theainet.net/. In the first stage, any teachers who are interested in participating should read the **Initial requirements for participation** and complete the **Expression of interest** form below. In the second stage I will organise 30-60 minute video interviews (e.g. using Skype/What's App) with teachers who may be suitable for the project. The interview will be 2-way discussion of the project, so that teachers can ask questions and are well-informed before agreeing to participate. It will also help me to decide which teachers to involve in the project.

If you know of a colleague who you think would be suitable for this project, please talk to them about it, and forward this invitation to them. They should complete it themselves.

Jason Anderson: J.Anderson.8@warwick.ac.uk

Initial requirements for participation

If you are interested in participating, please check that you fulfil these criteria. If you do, please complete the **Expression of interest** form. By doing so, you are only expressing an interest, and you can withdraw at any stage between now and the beginning of data collection (from July 2019). Here are the criteria:

1. You are a secondary school teacher of English working in India.
2. You have at least 5 years of full-time experience teaching English (including 3 years at secondary level).
3. You are a participant in the AINET community.
4. You believe that you are an effective teacher. Think about how you can support this with evidence, such as the opinions of others, evidence of your performance as a teacher, or through qualifications, awards, CPD activities or specific roles you have fulfilled. Different teachers will be able to provide different evidence.

Before you proceed to the expression of interest, please read the Information Sheet for Participants. It explains more about the overall scope of the study. Then read and tick the boxes next to the following statements if you are happy to proceed.

☐ I have read and understood the Information Sheet and I am happy to proceed.

☐ I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any stage.

Expression of Interest Form

This form has two parts, and will take 20-40 minutes to complete. Question 10 will take the most time. You may want to write your answer to question 10 in a separate document and paste it here when you have finished.

- Part A: Information about you (15-30 minutes)
- Part B: Information about your school (5-10 minutes)

Part A: Information about you

1. Full name

2. Email address

3. Where are you teaching at the moment? (name of school, district and state)

4. What is your current job title (e.g. Teacher of English)?

5. How many hours do you teach every week?

6. How long have you been in this position?

7. Which class(es) do you typically teach? (e.g. Class 8, Class 10, etc.)

8. Where else have you taught before? Please provide brief details of other positions in your past, including type of school, number of years and any other relevant details.

9. During the data collection period (from July 2019-April 2020), do you feel you would be able to do the following? Please tick those that you think you can do:

- ☐ Allow me to observe your lessons regularly for several weeks.
- ☐ Provide access to certain documents related to your teaching, such as lesson plans, schemes of work or selected teaching materials.
- ☐ Participate in regular interviews on topics such as your beliefs about teaching and learning, your career history, and reflections on lessons you taught (2-3 hours of interview time in total each week).

10. Why do you (or those around you who encouraged you to participate) believe that you are an effective teacher? Write as much as you can in response to this question in the box below. We can discuss this during the interview. You may want to mention any aspects of the following (no need to provide evidence at this stage), listed here in alphabetical order (not order of importance):

a) Awards that you have received.
b) Evidence of your impact on students' learning (e.g. exam results).
c) Feedback from others on your teaching (e.g. your school principle, a school inspector, a researcher, a teacher educator, students or parents).
d) Participation in teacher associations (e.g. AINET, ELTAI, IATEFL, etc.).
e) Participation in teacher development programs and courses.
f) Publishing or presenting at conferences or in-school events (e.g. a poster presentation at a conference, an article in a local journal, or a blog post you wrote).
g) Qualifications you have or are taking at the moment (e.g. B.Ed., M.A., etc.).
h) Research that you have conducted (e.g. action research in your classroom, or interviewing colleagues or students)
i) Ways that you have helped other teachers (e.g. as a teacher mentor, a teacher trainer/educator, materials writing, curriculum development, etc.).
j) Specific responsibilities that you have taken on in your school (e.g. organisation of resources, development of materials, etc.)
k) Other activities that you think are relevant.

Please write your answer here:

11. What questions do you have for me? Write them here. We can discuss them during the interview.

Part B: Information about your school and community

12. What type of secondary school do you work in?

☐ government / local government secondary school
☐ government-aided secondary school
☐ private secondary school

13. Would you describe it as an urban, semi-urban or rural context?

14. Which language is the medium of instruction in your school? If there are two, please explain.

15. Do you think your school principal and other stakeholders in the school community will allow me to observe lessons, spend time in the staff room, interview colleagues and students? You may want to discuss this question with them before replying. Please be honest in your answer. It is understandable if you cannot confirm for certain at this stage.

16. Is there anything else you wish to share at this stage?

Many thanks for taking the time and effort to complete this. Please return the form to me at: J.Anderson.8@warwick.ac.uk

Appendix B: Participant information sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Effective teachers of English in India 2: Invitation to participate in a research project

Jason Anderson

Introduction

You are invited to participate in a research project. Before you decide whether or not to participate, please read the following information carefully. Please ask if anything is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the purpose of the research?

There are two purposes to this stage of the research: 1) To identify a small number of effective teachers of English who are happy to take part in a longer research project from 2019-2020. 2) To involve the participating teachers in a consultation workshop in early 2019 in which we plan the research project together.

Do I have to take part?

No, you do not. It is your choice. If you are happy to take part, please complete the expression of interest form.

What will happen to me if I take part?

It will take you 20-40 minutes to complete the expression of interest form. You should then return it to me. A number of respondents will be invited to take part in an interview to further discuss the project. Of these, a small number will be invited to take part in a consultation workshop to plan the main phase of the research project in early 2019. You can decline to participate at any stage, even after the workshop.

What are the possible benefits of taking part in this study?

Completing the expression of interest form will encourage you to think about your own achievements as a teacher. Participation in the interview will help you to analyse your own CPD, and learn more about research into teachers and teaching. Participation in the consultation workshop will provide an opportunity to contribute to the design of a PhD study and ensure that it is beneficial to you and to other teachers in India.

Will my personal details and information be confidential?

Yes. I will follow ethical and legal guidelines at all stages. Your information will be kept confidential.

Who is organising and funding the study?

I am conducting this study as part of my PhD research study into effective teachers of English in India at the University of Warwick, UK, funded by the Economics and Social Research Council of the UK.

Will my information be kept confidential?

Yes. I will store all questionnaires securely, and make information anonymous before I begin analysing it electronically. I will make sure that your name, or any other information that might reveal your identity will not appear in any publications or talks.

Who has reviewed the study?

This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Warwick's Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC).

Who should I contact if I wish to make a complaint?

Any complaint about the way you have been dealt with during the study or any possible harm you might have suffered will be addressed. Please address your complaint to the Head of Research Governance (contact details below), who is a senior University of Warwick official entirely independent of this study:

Head of Research Governance
Research & Impact Services, University House, University of Warwick, Coventry, CV4 8UW
Email: researchgovernance@warwick.ac.uk Tel: 024 76 522746

What if I want more information about the study?

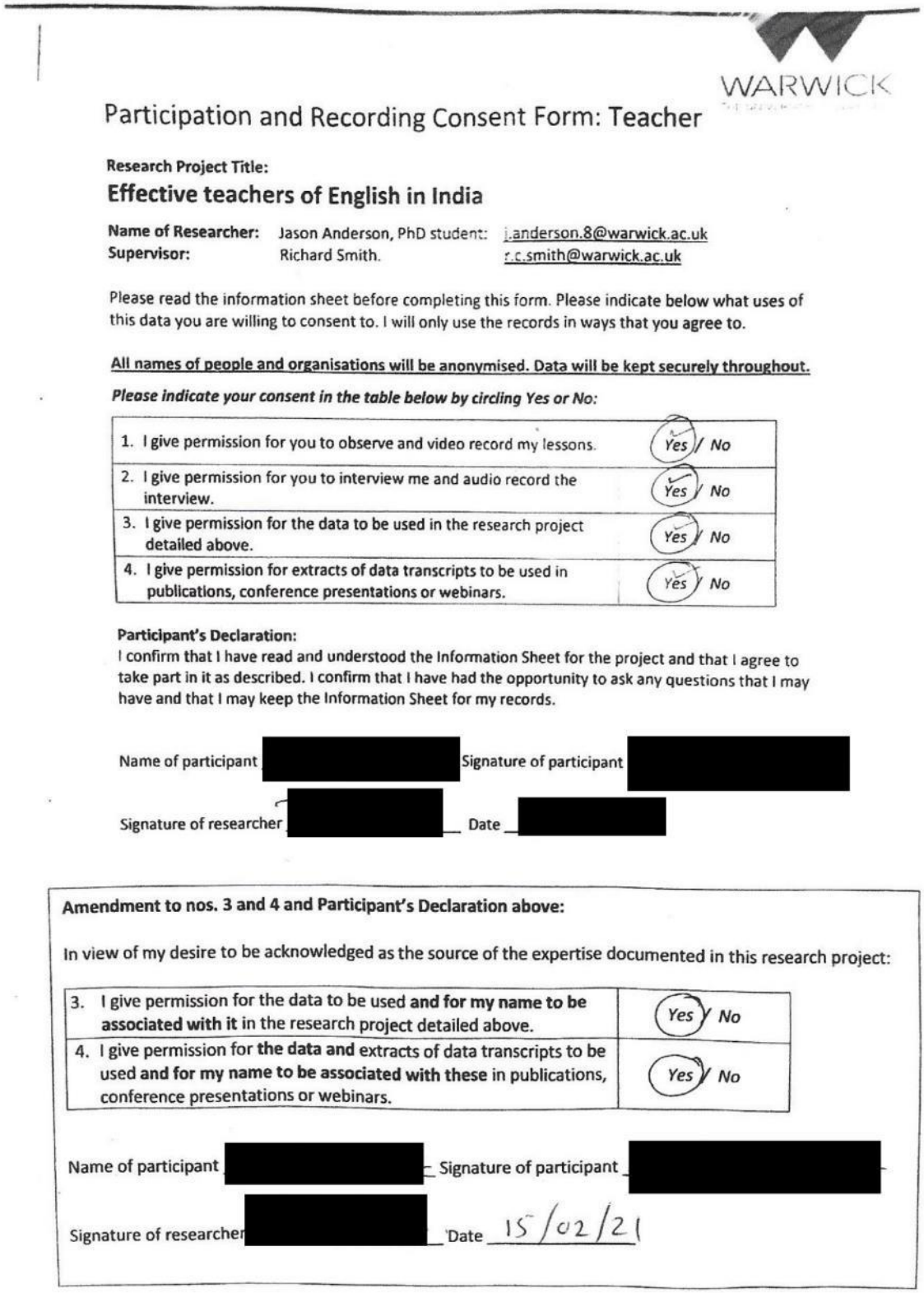
If you have any questions about any aspect of the study, or your participation in it, which are not answered by this participant information sheet, please contact:

Researcher: Jason Anderson. Email: j.anderson.8@warwick.ac.uk
Supervisor: Richard Smith. Email: r.c.smith@warwick.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this Information Sheet. The questionnaire is in a separate document.

Appendix C: Participant consent form

Example of signed (anonymised) consent form, revised after participants expressed a preference to be identified as non-anonymous participants in the study.



WARWICK

Participation and Recording Consent Form: Teacher

Research Project Title:

Effective teachers of English in India

Name of Researcher: Jason Anderson, PhD student: j.anderson.8@warwick.ac.uk
Supervisor: Richard Smith. r.c.smith@warwick.ac.uk

Please read the information sheet before completing this form. Please indicate below what uses of this data you are willing to consent to. I will only use the records in ways that you agree to.

All names of people and organisations will be anonymised. Data will be kept securely throughout.

Please indicate your consent in the table below by circling Yes or No:

1. I give permission for you to observe and video record my lessons.	(Yes) / No
2. I give permission for you to interview me and audio record the interview.	(Yes) / No
3. I give permission for the data to be used in the research project detailed above.	(Yes) / No
4. I give permission for extracts of data transcripts to be used in publications, conference presentations or webinars.	(Yes) / No

Participant's Declaration:
I confirm that I have read and understood the Information Sheet for the project and that I agree to take part in it as described. I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask any questions that I may have and that I may keep the Information Sheet for my records.

Name of participant [redacted] Signature of participant [redacted]

Signature of researcher [redacted] Date [redacted]

Amendment to nos. 3 and 4 and Participant's Declaration above:

In view of my desire to be acknowledged as the source of the expertise documented in this research project:

3. I give permission for the data to be used **and for my name to be associated with it** in the research project detailed above.	(Yes) / No
4. I give permission for **the data and** extracts of data transcripts to be used **and for my name to be associated with these** in publications, conference presentations or webinars.	(Yes) / No

Name of participant [redacted] Signature of participant [redacted]

Signature of researcher [redacted] Date 15/02/21

Appendix D: Semi-structured interview protocol (stage 2 of recruitment)

(beforehand ask them to have their answer for question 10 ready):

1. Confirm personal and contact details [email, telephone, Facebook].

2. Explain interview process, including potential outcomes.

3. Tell them more about the study.

4. Invite questions about the study.

5. Ask: Why would you like to participate?

6. Ask: Could you take me through your answer for question 10: Why do you think you are an effective teacher? (Ask follow up questions as appropriate, making notes of any documents or other types of evidence to ask for).

7. Ask: Could you send me evidence of the following by email: [depends on what the teacher said for question 6]. Confirm which sources can be checked in situ.

8. Ask: Could you tell me about a problem or challenge you had in your teaching recently? Describe the problem in as much detail as you can and what you did.

9. Invite further questions.

10.Check about access to the school, permissions, local accommodation, etc. Will they be able to help? Also ask whether they require anything from me (e.g. request letter to headteacher, anything from AINET, etc.), and whether they would be able to organise observations of colleagues, etc.

11. Conclude interview. Explain why participants may not be selected (limited number needed, including sufficient variety of context and background) and that non-selection is no indication of unsuitability or evidence that they are not an effective teacher.

Thank them.

Appendix E: Life history interview schedule

1. **I'd like to learn more about your background, education, and work history. First can you tell me about your childhood, where you grew up, a little about your family, and also about your own experiences at school.**
   Prompt to find out following if necessary: ☐ rural or urban context, incl. ☐ name of village/town/city; ☐ parents' education level and jobs; ☐ parents' attitude to his/her education; ☐ memories of school – positive or negative; ☐ degree of success at school; ☐ challenges at school; ☐ any memorable teachers; ☐ idols or role models at that time; ☐ personal aspirations – did you want to become a teacher?

2. **Tell me about your post-school education: What decision did you make, and what factors influenced that decision?**
   Elicit necessary decisions that took him/her to start of teaching career. ☐ Ask about teacher training experience: What was impression? ☐ Theory/practice divide? ☐ Teaching practice experience?

3. **Tell me about your first years as a teacher [get years]: How did it go?**
   ☐ Did you enjoy it? ☐ What challenges did you face? ☐ Can you remember any important moments or anecdotes?

4. **Tell me about your CPD over the years: What did you do?**
   ☐ How important were professional associations? ☐ Support from colleagues (if so, be specific – who?)? ☐ Conferences? ☐ Reading? ☐ Personal reflection? ☐ Feedback (e.g. head teacher; learners)?

5. **When did you start to feel that you were an 'effective teacher'?**
   ☐ What signs did you start to see? ☐ Whose opinions/evaluation were important to you?

6. **What keeps you going?**
   ☐ Where is your motivation from? ☐ What do you enjoy most about your work? ☐ What challenges do you still enjoy facing?

Appendix F: Espoused theories interview schedule

Introduction: I'd like to find out more about your beliefs about teaching and learning, the role of the teacher, the education system, etc.

1. **Tell me first about learning, focusing on the learning process. For example, how do students learn?**
   Prompt for: ☐ Is language learning different from other types of learning? If so, how? ☐ Is language learning a cognitive process, a social process, or what?

2. **Tell me about teaching. How does this relate to the learning process?**
   Prompt for: ☐ Do you see your job as a teacher of the language, the syllabus, the exam content, or what? ☐ How should we teach to facilitate the required learning most effectively? ☐ How do you plan your teaching?

3. **Tell me about any writers, teacher educators, gurus, books or theories in teaching that have influenced your theories and practices?**
   Prompt for: ☐ SLA theories. ☐ CLT methodology. ☐ Constructivism.

4. **Tell me about the particular challenges that teachers in a developing country like India may face that may be different to developed countries. What are the biggest challenges?**
   Prompt for: ☐ Students background and families. ☐ Class sizes, spaces and resources. ☐ Challenges and constraints of the system itself, esp. curriculum and exams.

5. **Tell me about the support of the people around you: Do you get any? How?**
   Prompt for: ☐ Opposition? How do you deal with it? ☐ Can one be an effective teacher alone? ☐ Is there a social element to expertise? Do all effective teachers want to be recognised? ☐ Local community, esp. parents? ☐ Students? ☐ How much should a good teacher care for her/his learners?

6. **Now tell me your opinion on becoming and staying an effective teacher. How does one become an effective teacher? How does one stay effective? Why do you teach?**
   Prompt for both ☐ becoming and ☐ staying effective. ☐Motivation.

7. **How difficult has it been to be yourself in my presence?**
   Prompt for ☐ influence on teaching ☐ behaviour at school ☐ your knowledge of my writing and work as a teacher educator? ☐ Advice for me in my future research (esp. on this project)?

Appendix G: Post-lesson interview schedule

1. **Intentions:** What did you want the students to learn / do / take away.

Starting question: What were your intentions or aims for today's lesson?

2. **Reflect on the lesson itself:** How successful it was, general impressions and feelings, strengths and weaknesses and what they'd do differently if they were to do it again.

Starting questions: What are your reflections on your lesson today? How do you feel it went?

3. **Planning and practice:** Get them to link it to their plan (mental/physical), and the degree to which it panned out as they had expected.

Starting question: How does the lesson that you taught relate to what you planned?

4. **Reasoning:** Choose a number of specific activities included, choices made and resources used during the lesson. Ask them to reflect on the reasons for these actions, and then to link to their more general practice.

I notice you … Can you tell me more about this? Why did you … ? What was your reason for …? How typical is that of you?

5. **Learners:** Get them to focus in on individual learners: Can you recall how well any individuals did/didn't do during the lesson? Any reflections on that student/those students?

I would like you choose one of the students, in the class. Tell me how you think the lesson went for her/him?

6. **The future:** Next lesson – what? why? how?

Please talk a little about your next lesson with this class: What are your thoughts on what you might do and why?

7. **If time - Reflexivity: How did my presence influence the lesson?**

Appendix H: Parent/caregiver interview schedule

English version (for use with research assistant / interpreter when translated)

INTRODUCTION

Welcome. Thanks for attending. Introduce everyone. You've been randomly chosen.

Aims of research: To understand effective teaching. Uses: for university PhD and to create resources for other teachers. Explain that the school is one of eight from across India that will be involved in Jason's project.

Aims of the discussion group and what is expected of them: Please have an open, friendly conversation in response to the questions. Talk to each other, rather than the interviewer(s).

Guidelines: You don't have to speak in a set order, but please speak one at a time (so we can hear each person). There are no right or wrong answers. We only want your opinions. It's OK to disagree with each other.

Voluntary: You don't have to participate. If you want, you can leave now.

Anonymity: We will not collect your names. We don't work for the government, so we cannot report back to them.

Confidentiality: We will not share this data with teachers, the head teacher or the DEO. But you should also keep what was said confidential. Please do not talk to other people about the opinions you heard during this interview, but it's OK to tell them what questions we asked.

Length: It will take 30-50 minutes, depending on how much you want to say.

Recording: Can we audio record the interview only? (no video)

QUESTIONS FOR PARENTS

Warm up questions:

1. What jobs do you do?
2. Did you study in secondary school? (find out if any have never been to school)
3. How many children do you have? Which grades are they in?
4. Is this the only secondary school you have experience of?

Key questions:

5. Which of their lessons do your children talk about most? What do they say about them?
6. What about English? What do they say about their English lessons?
7. Do you think they are learning from their English lessons?
8. What challenges do they have with English?
9. What advice would you give to the teacher?
10. What advice would you give to the government about teaching English?
11. Is there anything else you think it's important for us to know?

If time, finish with a summary of key points made. Ask whether this is accurate.

Thank participants for their time and ideas. Provide contact in case of need.

Appendix I: Student focus group interview schedule

1. Students sit in friendship groups of 3-4.

2. Remind them that the interview is voluntary, anonymous and only audio data will be recorded. The audio data will not be shared with their teachers or anyone in the school. I will keep it safe and secure.

Long interview: Stage A

3. Ask them to copy the following two columns from the board to a shared notebook, then give instruction:

> I would like to know your opinion about a good teacher. What are they like? What do they do? Complete the table with your own ideas. Try to include ideas from everybody in the group. There are no right or wrong answers. You can write in any language.

4. Elicit possible examples for each column.

5. Remind them to keep it anonymous (no student or teacher names).

6. Tell them to begin.

7. After groups complete their page, request permission to photograph it and ask them about any responses that are not clear or unusual.

A good teacher is…	A good teacher does…

Short interview / Long interview: Stage B - Focus group rank ordering activity

1. Show rank order cards and the ‘Good teacher chart’.

2. Explain that they must put them in their agreed, preferred order, with the most important qualities at the top, and least important at the bottom. They should discuss and try to agree on their choices.

3. Hand out charts and cards, then go through each statement, eliciting a translation to a preferred language.

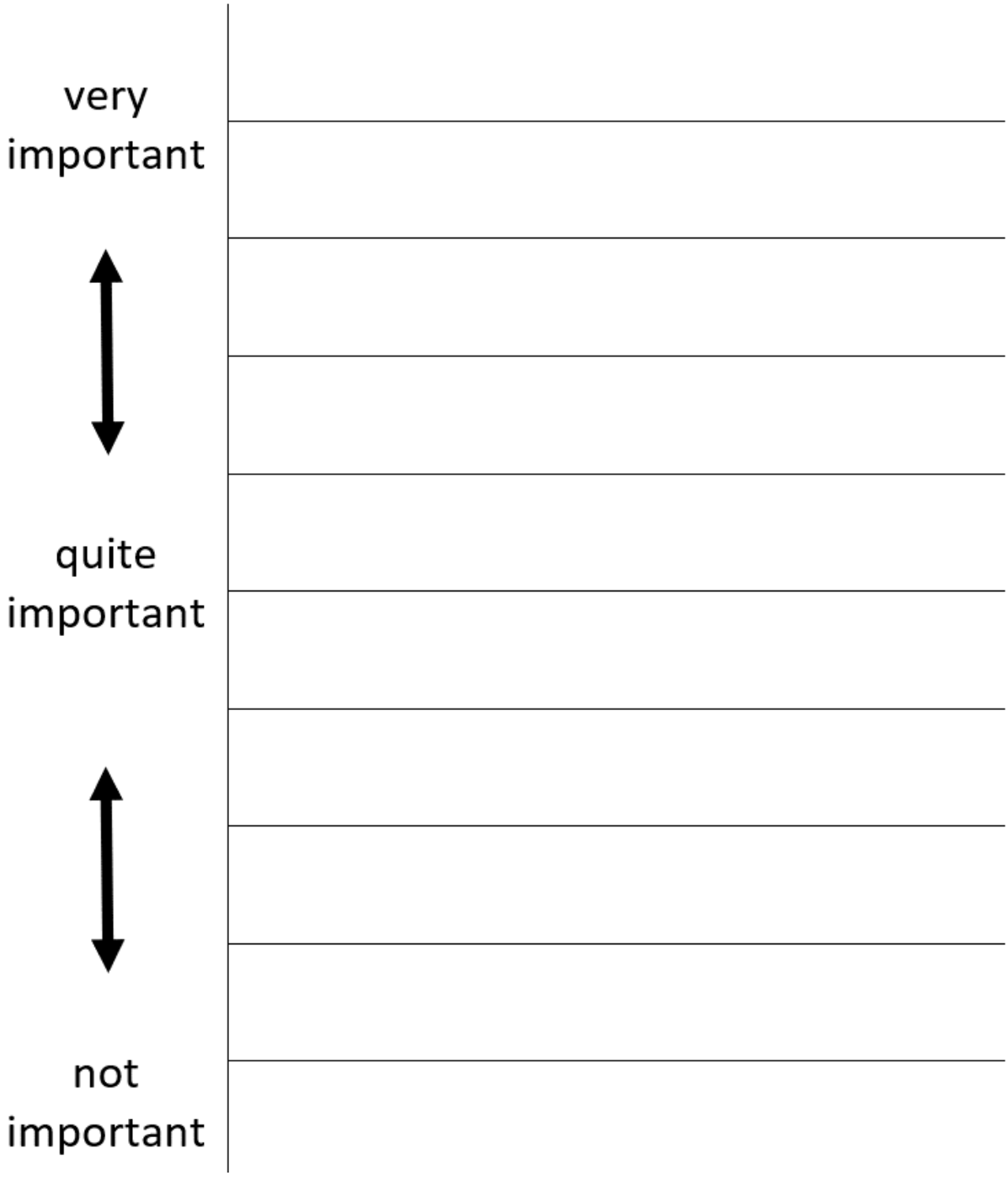
4. Tell them to begin. Monitor to provide help with meanings if necessary.

5. When groups finish, request permission to photograph their chart and interview them, asking for reasons for their highest 3 and lowest 2 choices on the chart in English and/or Hindi (depending on proficiency).

6. At end, conclude focus group interview and thank students.

A good teacher plans lessons carefully.
A good teacher knows her/his subject well (e.g. maths, English).
A good teacher is kind and cares for the students.
A good teacher plays many games in class with the students.
A good teacher tells students to work in pairs and in groups.
A good teacher explains things very clearly so that we all understand.
A good teacher helps us to prepare for examinations well.
A good teacher corrects our work carefully and helps us to improve it.
A good teacher asks many questions to the students.
A good teacher helps all of the students equally.

What does a Good Teacher do?



Appendix J: Head teacher interview schedule

Confirm that the interview is voluntary, anonymous and only audio data will be recorded. The audio data will not be shared with their teachers or anyone else in the school, the local DEO, or anyone in the ministry. I will keep it safe and secure.

Check how much time we have. Explain that I will pause audio in case of interruptions.

1. **Tell me about your students and their parents.**
    - What kind of families are they from? What jobs do the parents do? Are there any problems in the community? How is the relationship to the village community? (sarpanch? SMC?)

2. **Have you worked in other schools?**
    - If so, please compare this school to your last one. If not, what support are you getting in this, your first position as HM?

3. **Tell me about the challenges you face here.**
    - Class size. Teaching and learning materials. School improvement.

4. **Tell me your opinion of effective teaching.**
    - How would you define 'effective' in this context? What makes an effective teacher?

5. **Tell me about your teachers.**
    - Who is most experienced? Are any in need of support?

6. **Tell me about the exams and their influence on teaching and learning in your school.**
    - Do you think they have a positive or negative influence? What changes to the exams would you like to see?

7. **Tell me about your school effectiveness programme.**
    - What are you expected to do to improve this?

Enquire about next SMC meeting. Ask about the possibility to attend.

Conclude meeting and thank them.

Appendix K: Example lesson transcriptions (extracts)

Kuheli, Obs. 24, Gr 7. (other languages used: Bangla)

Time	Activity	Dialogue transcription	Notes/ translation
32:00	T moves around class providing further support.	T: First identify the pronouns and adjectives in the sentences, then write them and beside the word, you write whether it is possessive pronoun, yes, like that. (Students hands starting to go up to indicate that they finished) S1: (inaudible) (shows notebook to teacher) OK, you can do it that way as well. She has done a good thing, she has made a chart. In one side she has written possessive adjective, on the other, she has written possessive pronoun. (T sees students who finished) Done? Done? Good.	Student asking questions, soliciting teacher help. T giving specific praise.
32:30	Differentiation task is given	T: If you are done, then, write two sentences using possessive adjective, write two sentences using possessive pronoun, if you are done with the task that I gave you, then you make these four sentences. Try to, not to write to simple sentences like I gave you. Try to write a sentence with good content. Do that.	Improvised differentiation task, close to free practice, only for the higher achieving learners. Here indication of what the T feels is meaningful usage.
33:00	Monitoring continues, one student has a difficulty. T makes use of L1 to help.	(T disappears out of camera and approaches learner at the back of the class) T: [redacted] bojha jacche? Parchis? Bujhte perechis? Bol. S1: Mam puro sentence gulo lekha hoyni. T: Puro sentence gulo lekha hoyni? KonTa konTa baki? (approaches stronger learner [redacted]) T: [redacted], fifth ta ki chilo re? [redacted], which one you couldn't finish? Which one you couldn't finish? S1: Four and five T: Four and five. Are you getting that from him, her? (to [redacted]) OK. (then to girl behind her) Tora likhte perechis panch sentence, jegulo ami diyechi? Kire likhte perechis sentence gulo? OK. S2: (S2 stands and asks a question) Bolchi eta puro hoye jawar por ki korte hobe? T: Konta? S2: Eta hoye geche. T: Identify Korli to? Likhe likhechis tui? Accha likhe felechis to. Kothay ache likhechis? Hyan e o tui next kajTa bolchis? Ami bolchi duTo possessive adjective diye duTo sentence bana ar possessive pronoun diye duTo sentence bana. Ebong eto soja soja noy. EkTu bhalo sentence bana. (S2 grins and laughs).	T: [redacted], can you understand? Can you do it? Are you able to understand it? Say. S1: Mam, I haven't finished writing all the sentences yet. T: You haven't finished writing all the sentences? Which ones are left? (approaches stronger learner [redacted]) T: [redacted], the fifth, what was it? [redacted], which one you couldn't finish? Which one you couldn't finish? S1: Four and five T: Four and five. Are you getting that from him, her? (to [redacted]) OK. (then to girl behind her) Could you write all the five sentences, which I gave? Could you write sentence the sentences? OK. S2: (S2 stands and asks a question) So this is done, after this what do I have to do? T: Which one? S2: I could do this one. T: Were you able to identify? Could you write this? Okay, you could write this. Where have you written it? Okay, so you are asking about the next step? I'm saying make two sentences with possessive adjectives, and make two sentences with possessive pronouns. And don't write such easy ones. Write something better, make a good sentence. (S2 grins and laughs).
34:08	Time check, followed by active monitoring.	T: How many more minutes? Two minutes? (She continues monitoring) Two minutes will do? (Approaches two girls on her right at the front)	Time negotiation. T refuses to provide individual feedback.

Vinay, Obs. 21, Gr 10. (English only)

Time	Activity	Interaction	Dialogue transcription	Notes/ translation
03:55	T begins lesson. Introduces lesson clearly, including overview of today.	T-SS	T: OK. What is the title of the lesson? SS: Every success… T & SS: (together) Every success story is also a… SS: Great failures. T: So what does it mean? What is the meaning of that sentence? SS: (various responses, paraphrasing in English heard) T: So generally the people will see the success of an individual. But behind that success there are a lot of failures. So the failures are the stepping stones of success. So this is an evidence, the lesson is an evidence that there are successful people, but we are going to focus on, not only on success, how they become success. The steps through which they reach that success.	Coherent lesson introduction. Focus on moral message in the text.
04:50	T conducts timed reading.	SS reading silently.	OK, so read the lesson and I'm going to keep the time. Sit straight. Don't murmur, not to move your lips. Don't run your finger or the pencil… Ready? Sit straight. Start!	Silent reading rules are laid out carefully.
09:55	Students begin completing the reading. They indicate to teacher when they have finished.	SS reading silently. S-T	S: Sir. T: Four minutes, forty seconds. … S: Sir T: Five minutes.	
10:30	T explains text comprehension task.	T-SS	T: So after completing that reading, so there is a table at the end of the lesson. So name of the person, his failure stories and his success stories are there. So read the lesson again and try to fill that graphic organiser. There is a table after the lesson, so there are gaps in it. So read the lesson again and fill those gaps. (T then resumes telling SS their times) S: Sir, finished. T: Five minutes forty seconds.	Graphic organiser task.
13:00	Most of girls completing text (4 page text in c. 8 minutes).	SS reading and writing silently. S-T	S: Sir. T: Seven minutes, fifty seconds.	
13:30	T explains comprehension task again	T-SS SS reading and writing silently.	T: So there is a table at the end of the lesson, ah? There are gaps in it, name of the person, his failure stories, and final success. So read the lesson again, find out the answers, and fill that table. Use pencil. (T then resumes telling SS their times) S: Sir. T: Eight minutes fifty seconds.	T repeats instruction. Use of pencil – allowing for self-correction.
15:50	T adds advice to task after question by student	T-SS	S: (inaudible question – probably about task) T: Mm. Complete the table. Even refer the glossary also. Because in the glossary he has given some explanation about that person,	T gives further individual guidance.

Appendix L: Example interview transcription (extract)

Espoused theories interview Raju Lingala

63 minutes. R: Raju Lingala; I: Interviewer (Jason)

	Transcript		Notes
I:	Thank you very much. OK so I'd like to find out more about your personal beliefs about teaching, learning, the role of the teacher, the education system, OK? So the first one is: tell me about learning? What are your opinions about the learning process, for example how do students learn? (01:50)	1	
R:	So it varies. Like, er, without teaching also a student may learn from a child. When he is a child, he learned something from others and something from the society, so what I believe is a child can learn through the society, and through his friends and through teachers and by his own experience and by reading books.	2	Learning is social, experiential, but also can be formal.
I:	Interesting, keep talking. Any more information there?	3	
R:	So for me, learning especially he comes to school for learning, but before that anyway some kind of learning happens in his life, learning his mother tongue, learning some things to do at home and outside, but after coming to school it becomes like something, what we say authentic or something, related to teaching learning process maybe.	4	Prior learning linked to MT.
I:	And would you say when we talk about language learning, in your opinion is language learning different from other types of learning or is it basically the same?	5	
R:	Yeah it's slightly different. So the mother tongue is acquired, so they won't learn, mother tongue they won't learn by, their inter... Maybe in their subconscious mind while listening to her or his mother or parents, or some of neighbour, in neighbourhood they will learn it, but learning language 2 is slightly different. They can't acquire it as it is, they have to learn intentionally, listening to, maybe getting some teaching.	6	Acquisition-learning distinction.
I:	And when you say they have to learn it intentionally, talk of bit more about that with some examples if you like.	7	
R:	So first language they learn without their consent by listening even when they're very small, but learning a second or third language when they come to school, they have to learn it because they can't acquire it. It's not possible for them to acquire language in, they are not in that situation or that atmosphere will be there at home or outside in the society.	8	Acquisition-learning distinction.
I:	So that kind of links to the notion of teaching. So what you do, what for you is that, when you talk about the school learning as opposed to natural acquiring, tell me more about that, what needs to happen for them to learn at school in your opinion?	9	
R:	Language, learning language or anything useful?	10	
I:	Yeah, good question. Either, or both.	11	
R:	So when they come to school there is a curriculum and syllabus and fixed timetable for all the subjects to learn, but outside whatever they learn they learned by themselves without this kind of conditioned situation. (04:50)	12	Recognition of constraints of formal learning.
I:	Keep going, yeah. So, so that's really interesting so how does that, what influence does that curriculum have, then?	13	
R:	So, I'm not sure but the question is natural learning or just...	14	
I:	No, it's just really interesting. You started talking about how school learning is different. Tell me more using examples. For example, you talked about the curriculum being something else apart from a natural process. Talk more about why that's important.	15	
R:	So when they learn outside, for example if they learn Telugu outside, they acquire it and when they come to school to learn others another language, Telugu or Hindi, and they learn the grammar for example. Without learning grammar they speak Telugu, but without learning grammar they won't speak English, and when we introduce English we'll be introducing them tenses and this and that, parts of speech, but they did not learn Telugu language like that so in science subjects also. They know here and everything but when they come to school they know about photosynthesis and oxygen and carbon dioxide and all these things.	16	Acquisition/learning distinction. Belief that school cannot provide conditions for 'acquisition'. Explicit instruction. English as subject, linked to others.
I:	So in a way, what you're saying is that the, when we're teaching aspects of English, we need to follow a similar method to when we're teaching science. Did I understand you?	17	
R:	No I'm not talking about that. So when they are learning Telugu, they are learning naturally, without any grammar or any tenses, but when they are learning English after coming to school, this is a systematic learning system, and step-by-step they are learning at school.	18	English as system.
I:	Right. So can you give me some examples of the learning process at school, how a child can learn a language at school. Give me some examples for example. (06:46)	19	
R:	OK, if a child comes to school, the child will learn some..., in the initial stage some rhymes and he will be habituated to the sounds of English so when he feels able to listen from his	20	Implies natural learning,

Appendix M: Lesson synopsis with coding

Obs 21, Gr 7B: Activities from the text. Only 9 students present for this Saturday lesson (student unpredictability). Lesson started with meaningful chitchat about Saraswati Puja (3 days holiday previous to the lesson). There was an interesting translingual (TLing) conversation between the teacher and one student. The teacher interacted with her very naturally and entirely in English, whereas the student was ostensibly in L1 (see PLI 5). Teacher then moves onto the book at 11:07, checking where they left off (evidence of no planning/see PLI 5): Where are we? Activity 9 we completed. Did you do activity 5? (She'd set it for homework) I think I didn't start checking. Students confirmed. The crow appears again on the windowsill. Teacher checks who was absent (2 students – which she remembers – student knowledge – see below). 11:08 checking answers for activity 5 starts, and proceeds as usual for her detailed feedbacks (extensive elicitation/AC/SS both central/HOTS/critical thinking). In response to the 1st answer, T pushes student (high standards). 2nd girl did better, and the teacher provides exam advice after this. Student name used. As well as extensive AC, teacher also provided her own summaries after confirmation and exam advice for future. All students seemed involved (engagement), some items were dealt with quickly where they were fairly easy (brisk pace). Students showing the ability to evaluate and interpret this text (HOTS) clearly. 11:16 teacher challenges one student ([redacted]) whose answer was right, but T wants her to read and find the answer (pushing SS/high standards). L1 is used to clarify this. At this point something interesting happens [differentiation example]: she moves the rest of the class onto activity 6 and 7, but gives [redacted] time to find her answer and she returns to her soon after, challenging her while the others are busy "if you did not guess them, why can't you find the sentence?" Other students working quietly, Kuheli monitoring, offering support (active monitoring). She devotes a little attention to the 2 students who had been absent in the previous lesson (differentiated support), checking whether they have any questions or doubts. (OOF moment:) exam guidance regarding what to include and what not to include for this particular item. 11:20 teacher now comes back to [redacted], elicits answers (they are now correct) and confirms. Good example here of her pushing each learner/high expectations/effective differentiation. Now all students working quietly on the exercises (individual work), teacher is watching carefully. After a few minutes she recommends that they work in pairs (pairwork), using the usual "talk to your friend if you have any doubts regarding the meaning of the sentences" not too much consultation between students, but what happens seems to be meaningful and useful. Teacher again observing them carefully. Student asks a question (student questions): regarding number 3 small pebble. Teacher empathises: "I can see that you are not very sure. That's why I said 'talk to your friend'." (Rational for pairwork shared with learners) Teacher now appears to be preparing/planning for later this lesson/ future lesson, looking ahead in the textbook (check afterwards). 11:25 teacher gives them 1 minute time limit. Feedback: L1 used to check everybody agrees. Elicits 2 answers to 1st item (AC) elicits 2 different answers to 2nd item, noticing issue with the use of "one" in item 2. Elicits meaning and notices the students don't understand. She explains then uses L1 to clarify this (responsive teaching / good example to analyse). Teacher gives them a chance to redo it again. [REFLECTION: good example of teacher pushing students and challenging them] 11:29 [REFLECTION: with students who are succeeding/motivated, teacher can be much harder/harsher and push the students more. Yet in more challenging contexts (Gajanan/Manjusha) they are more often more encouraging/praising/ sensitive: check] Crow returns at 11:31. Interesting discussion about "part of a rock" 11:32 teacher provides very clear summary sentence: "you do not need to include all of…" She then uses L1 to confirm and provides exam advice 11:34 teacher moves students onto activity 10, instructs quickly and pushes the students (high expectations): "I think it will take 2 minutes. Do it quickly." 40 seconds later: "Done, all of you?" She pushes again (good pace), and then differentiates with a clever quick task (differentiation): those who have completed, do activity 11. 11:36 teacher elicits answers (feedback) [REFLECTION: Kuheli's "flow" seems to involve getting all students working on something

appropriate to them as individuals, almost like somebody spinning plates] 11:38 “worn” clarified using objects in the room (lexis/vocab teaching) she instructs students to complete activity 11, explaining the word ‘replace’ (vocab teaching). At this point more students who have finished need differentiation: she gives ad hoc exercise – to write 3 opposites (comes up with adjectives off the top of her head - improvised confirmed – see PLI 5) during answer checking she checks the word’s trunk/bark using board image [REFLECTION: Kuheli rarely uses the board], and elicited metaphor/analogy of skin (vocabulary teaching). 11:43 correction regarding add/subtract. She briefly returned to the 3 words and checks those answers. Another interesting moment: student offers disabled as opposite to able. Teacher thinks carefully for a few seconds (RIA) and then gently disagrees, explaining that enabled is probably the appropriate opposite (sensitive correction/meaningful feedback). 11:45 L1 word on board as translation for scarce (vocabulary teaching). Examples provided were all LLL: Lions in Gujarat/blood groups. Some laughing and jokes, quite dialogic with students at this point about who has the most scarce blood and whose blood is most useful to others (embedding of biology) teacher clarifies who can donate which blood to whom. 11:47 Brief mention of plan for next class - activity 7. Lesson ends.

Appendix N: Example participant 1-page case summary

Gajanan: One page case summary

Detailed analysis length: 17,000 **# lesson extracts:** 15 **# quotes:** 27

Key contextual factors: Learners v. underprivileged (37% SC/ST) esp. 9B. School poorly built, classrooms inadequate, PC room not being used, no library. Average size classes. Ss often disaffected, esp. boys, w. irregular attendance and some negative attitudes. Many struggle with basic English literacy.

Key beliefs: Fighting social inequality. Learning without fear. Teach English mainly as a language. Strong literacy focus.

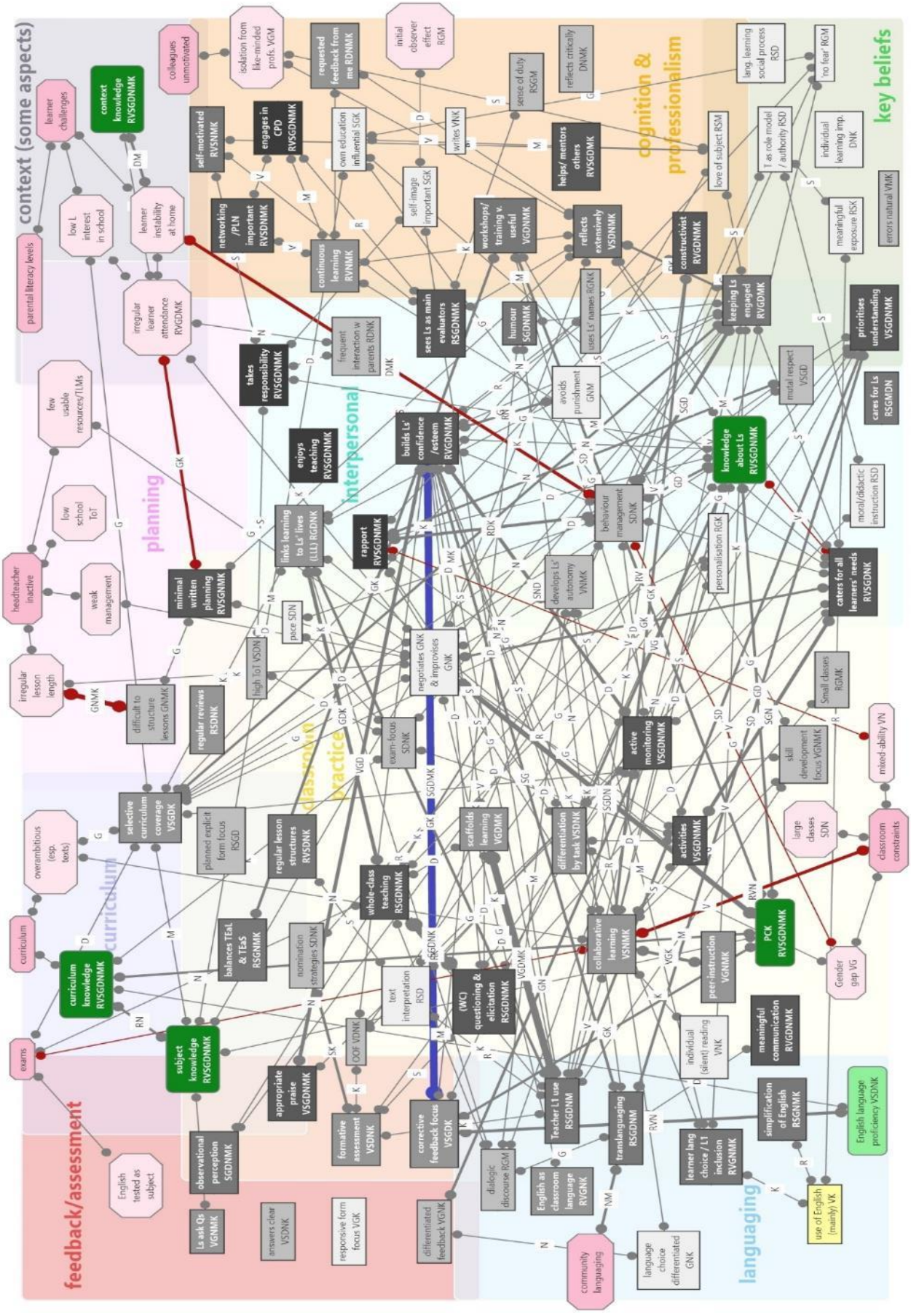
Key practices: Subverting the hierarchy and giving agency to learners. Dialogic teaching.

Other findings:

1. Fighting social inequality LINK TO subverting the hierarchy.
2. Building esteem LINK TO keeping Ls engaged.
3. Behaviour management LINK TO subverting the hierarchy.
4. Dialogic teaching LINK TO translanguaging.
5. Rapport LINK TO no fear AND subverting the hierarchy.
6. Engagement LINK TO behaviour management. (strong, [redacted] comment; PLI6/28:00) AND mutual respect.
7. Praise LINK TO confidence building.
8. Gender gap (negative) LINK TO BM.
9. No fear LINK TO BM.
10. Own schooling LINK TO no fear (also in 11) AND BM.
11. L1 use LINK TO LLL (Marathi song e.g.).
12. Translanguaging LINK TO building confidence.
13. L1 use LINK TO scaffolding ('transport' ideas to English).
14. Learners' challenges (low L interest in school) LINK TO selective curriculum coverage.
15. Difficult to structure LINK TO no written plan AND lesson length irregularity. (figure and "O principal, give me the time!", and PLI7/14:40.
16. No written plan LINK TO irregular learners.
17. Unconditional positive regard LINK TO knowledge about Ls. (EBI/40:30; Obs14/35:00)
18. Improvisation LINK TO classroom language.
19. Negotiation LINK TO engagement AND learners' needs AND curriculum (selective cur coverage).
20. Whole class teaching LINK TO LLL AND questioning AND personalisation AND situational LT.
21. Situational LT AND LLL LINK TO understanding.
22. Making content accessible (esp. LLL) LINK TO engagement.
23. Scaffolding LINK TO building self confidence.
24. Lack of TLMs LINK TO improvisation (exercises already completed in SS textbooks).
25. Learners' needs LINK TO improvisation (activity too difficult). (PLI5/08:10)
26. Activities LINK TO improvisation AND catering for SS needs.
27. Collaborative learning LINK TO skills development focus.
28. Collaborative learning LINK TO constructivism AND peer instruction AND no fear AND rapport.
29. Monitoring influential - LINK TO praise AND rapport AND (diff.) feedback AND providing for SS needs.
30. Correction highly sensitive, but clear LINK TO PCK.
31. Negotiation/improv. and knowledge about Ls LINK TO PCK
32. Knowledge of Ls LINK TO BM AND differentiation (by task type).

Paragraph description: Gajanan's learning without fear approach, in which he took responsibility for engaging Ls on the lesson topic, and his subverting of the normal teacher-learner hierarchy were both rooted in his own, clearly traumatic school experiences. His highly supportive rapport, sensitive correction and effective tutoring while monitoring were all consistent with this. His highly varied teaching practices were evidence both of his creativity and his ability to respond to his learners' needs and emergent challenges within what was at times a negotiated curriculum, in which learners' were regularly consulted. While he prioritised TEaL, he was aware of balancing this with curriculum and exam concerns, and his teaching reflected this. His ability to exploit classroom situations to practise (through dialogue), elicit and clarify language at times resembled a situational approach, and both this and his self-developed phonics approach were further evidence of his creativity.

Appendix O: The commonalities mindmap



Appendix P: The comparative spreadsheet

0=never/not present; 1=occasional/rare; 2=sometimes/often; 3=frequent/commo	MEAN	Raju	Vinay	Shekhar	Gajanan	Dipika	Nur	Manjusha	Kuheli	Totals
No of observations	30.3	21	32	27	38	34	32	30	28	242
No of post-lesson interviews	6.375	5	8	8	8	7	5	5	5	51
No of English classes	3.75	5	3	2	4	4	4	4	4	30
Grade range	5-12	6-10	7-10	9-10	8-10	8-10	5-10	8-12	7-11	6-12
Average class size	30.5	9.4	31.8	42.5	23.3	52.1	43.2	22.5	19.5	
% female ss.	63%	33%	54%	53%	64%	47%	52%	100%	100%	
% male ss.	37%	67%	45%	47%	36%	53%	48%	0%	0%	
Average lesson length (H:M:S)	36:08	41:06	43:56	35:07	32:13	30:56	37:04	32:50	35:51	
% L1 use	38%	30%	12%	47%	25%	72%	24%	85%	11%	
Formal group or pairwork (% of total lessons)	45%	10%	72%	70%	32%	24%	50%	50%	50%	
Formal and informal group or pairwork (% of total lessons)	57%	10%	91%	78%	45%	44%	63%	57%	71%	
Medium (TM=Telugu medium; MM=Marathi medium; SE=Semi-English medium; EM=Englis		SE & TM	SE & TM	SE	SE & MM	SE & HM	SE & MM	HM (&MM	BM	
Caste demographics (% SC/ST=disadvantaged)	30%	29%	31%	51%	36%	29%	5%	49%	13%	
Overall % disadvantaged (incl. SC/ST/NT/OBC)	73%	99%	99%	99%	78%	64%	35%	84%	25%	
# lessons transcribed		10	8	8	8	9	9	8	8	68
1. Contextual challenges	**Mean**	25	25	26	25	33	29	29	22	
More learners from disadvantaged backgrounds	2.5	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	1	
Irregular attendance	2.8	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	
Challenges presented by rurality	1.8	3	3	3	3	0	1	1	0	
Challenges with behaviour management	1.6	1	1	1	2	3	3	1	1	
Large classes	1.0	0	1	2	0	3	2	0	0	
Wide ability range	2.5	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	
Poor school infrastructure (incl. buildings, edtech, library, classrooms)	2.5	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	
Low support for development of TLMs	2.8	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	
Isolation from like-minded colleagues	2.4	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	
School control over teacher's practice	1.5	1	0	1	0	3	2	3	2	
Conflict with (aspects of) management	1.0	0	0	1	0	2	1	3	1	
High expectations of school and/or parents	2.0	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	
Heavy workload (incl. length of working day)	2.5	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	
2. Key beliefs	**Mean**									
Keeping learners engaged	2.8	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	
Ensuring learner understanding	2.9	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
learning without fear	2.1	3	2	2	3	1	2	3	1	
sense of moral duty / mission	2.4	3	1	3	3	2	3	3	1	
Sees themself as a role model for the learners	2.3	3	1	3	2	3	2	2	2	
constructivism	2.9	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	
students learn from meaningful exposure to language	3.0	3	N/A	3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3	
individual learning is important	2.8	N/A	2	N/A	N/A	3	3	N/A	3	
errors are a natural part of learning	3.0	N/A	3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3	3	
cultivate love of language (subject)	3.0	3	N/A	3	N/A	N/A	N/A	3	N/A	
4. Interpersonal practices	**Mean**									
Positive rapport with learners (incl. respect, supportive climate)	3.0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
Using learners' names regularly	2.3	3	1	2	3	2	3	1	3	
Caring about learners	2.8	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	
Building confidence/esteem	2.9	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	
humour important element of their practice	2.8	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	
Enjoys teaching and interacting with learners	3.0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
Linking learning to students lives (LLL)	2.6	3	2	2	3	3	3	2	3	
Personalisation of content/activities	2.4	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	
Effective behaviour management (BM)	2.3	2	2	3	1	3	3	1	3	
Strict' behaviour management	1.9	2	2	3	0	3	2	0	3	
Reprimands and punishments avoided	1.9	2	2	1	3	0	3	3	1	
Taking responsibility (and never blaming learners - accepting constraints)	3.0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
Catering for needs of all learners (incl. lower achievers)	2.9	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	
Provides moral/didactic instruction	1.9	3	1	3	2	3	1	1	1	
Frequent interaction with parents	2.3	3	1	1	2	3	3	2	3	
Provides study skills training/advice	2.0	2	3	2	1	2	3	1	2	
Develops learners' autonomy	2.4	1	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	

5. Languaging practices	Mean								
Meaningful communication	2.9	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3
English mainly approach	1.8	2	3	1	2	1	2	0	3
Use of English as classroom language (e.g., for instructions, chit-chat, etc.)	2.4	3	3	2	3	1	3	1	3
Teacher L1 use	2.8	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	2
Translanguaging	2.8	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	2
L1-inclusivity (encouraging learners to use L1 if/when required)	2.8	3	3	2	3	2	3	3	3
Differentiated langauge choice (learner specific)	1.9	1	1	1	3	1	3	2	3
Dialogic discourse	2.1	3	1	1	3	2	2	3	2
(conscious) simplification of (spoken) English used (structural, lexical, etc.)	2.6	3	1	3	3	2	3	3	3
6. Curriculum coverage and planning	**Mean**								
Follows curriculum closely	1.9	3	1	1	1	1	3	3	2
Selective curriculum coverage	2.3	1	3	3	3	3	1	1	3
Teaches English primarily as language (3) or subject (0)	1.5	1	3	1	2	0	2	1	2
Written planning	0.9	0	0	2	0	3	2	0	0
Other evidence of planning/preparation (e.g. thinking; materials)	1.8	1	2	3	1	2	2	2	1
Use of own TLMs	1.9	2	1	3	1	2	1	3	2
Use of authentic materials	0.9	1	2	0	1	0	0	2	1
Use of technology in class	1.1	1	3	0	1	0	1	2	1
7.1 Lesson structure	**Mean**								
Review of past learning at start of lesson	2.4	3	1	3	2	3	3	1	3
Summary/elicitation/reflection of learning at end of lesson	1.6	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2
High time on task	2.3	2	3	3	2	3	3	1	1
Brisk pace	2.1	2	2	3	1	3	3	1	2
Lessons frequently had consistent structure	2.1	2	2	3	1	2	3	1	3
7.2 Negotiation and improvisation	**Mean**								
Negotiation of lesson direction/activity/homework with learners	2.1	2	1	1	3	2	3	2	3
Improvisational teaching? (adaptive expertise)	2.1	1	2	2	3	2	3	1	3
Interactive planning/reflection	2.0	1	1	2	2	2	3	2	3
7.3 Whole-class teaching	**Mean**								
Whole-class instruction	2.9	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3
Conducts text interpretation ('bilingual method')	1.8	3	0	3	2	3	1	1	1
Planned explicit form focus (e.g. grammar presentation)	2.0	3	1	3	3	3	1	0	2
whole class questioning and elicitation	2.9	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3
Uses specific strategies for nomination	2.3	1	2	3	2	3	3	1	3
Includes a focus on thinking skills (HOTS, critical thinking)	1.5	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	3
Scaffolding (providing support to enable cognitive development)	2.6	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	3
Choral drilling (teacher reads/says, and students repeat)	1.8	2	0	3	2	2	3	2	0
7.4 Practice activities	**Mean**								
Practice activities (any) for individual or collaborative work	2.8	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Collaborative learning (groupwork and pairwork)	2.5	1	3	3	2	2	3	3	3
Independent (silent) reading practice	1.9	1	3	1	1	2	3	1	3
Skills development focus	2.6	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	3
Free speaking practice (English focus)	1.5	1	2	1	2	0	1	2	3
Free writing practice (English focus)	1.5	0	3	0	1	2	1	2	3
Listening practice (English focus)	1.1	2	2	0	2	0	1	1	1
Differentiation by task (i.e. of activity type/extent/outcome)	2.0	0	3	3	1	3	3	0	3
Includes exam focus/awareness raising	2.5	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	3
Uses games for learning	1.4	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
Includes learner presentations	1.5	1	3	2	1	1	1	2	1
7.5 Monitoring	**Mean**								
Active monitoring (i.e. with tutoring) of practice activities	2.8	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Ongoing observational feedback (OOF)	1.6	0	3	1	0	3	3	0	3

7.6 Feedback and assessment	**Mean**								
Appropriate (i.e. for achievement, but not gratutitous) praise	**2.9**	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Individually differentiated feedback	**2.4**	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	3
Correction provided (either explicit or recasts)	**2.6**	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	3
Peer instruction (feedback and/or correction)	**2.5**	1	3	2	3	2	3	3	3
Responsive form focus (e.g. during corrective feedback; quick review)	**2.1**	1	3	2	3	2	2	1	3
Checking for agreement before confirming answers	**1.4**	1	3	2	0	1	1	0	3
SS ask and receive answers to questions	**2.6**	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	3
Clarification of answers to exercises given (answers clear)	**2.6**	2	3	3	2	3	3	2	3
Formative assessment/assessment for learning (this is a cumulative perception, based c	**2.5**	1	3	3	2	3	3	2	3
Observational perception (ability to read students' mood/engagement)	**2.6**	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3
Rapid formative assessment (e.g. straw polls, Kuheli's check for agreement, and Nur's c	**1.4**	0	1	1	0	2	3	1	3
Use of tests and quizzes	**0.9**	1	0	2	1	2	1	0	0
8. Teacher knowledge	**Mean**								
Subject knowledge	**3.0**	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
PCK (pedagogical content knowledge; Shulman)	**3.0**	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Curriculum (designated textbook and exam) knowledge	**3.0**	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
High English proficiency	**2.6**	2	3	3	2	3	3	2	3
Knowledge of learners (as individuals [excl. V and M] or group)	**3.0**	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Contextual knowledge	**3.0**	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
9. Reflection	**Mean**								
Extensive reflection	**2.6**	1	3	3	2	3	3	3	3
Critical reflection	**2.3**	2	1	2	1	3	3	3	3
Seeing learners as main evaluators	**2.8**	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3
10. Professionalism	**Mean**								
Engages in CPD opportunities (workshops, conferences, webinars, etc.)	**3.0**	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Continuous learner	**2.5**	3	3	2	1	2	3	3	3
Self-motivated	**2.8**	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	3
Helps/mentors others	**2.9**	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3
Develops materials/resources for sharing	**2.4**	2	3	3	2	3	2	3	1
Training (workshops/courses) has been influential/transformational	**2.6**	2	3	1	3	3	3	3	3
Writes (academic or popular)	**1.9**	0	3	2	1	1	3	2	3
Self-image (pride and status) important motivator	**2.4**	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	3
Networking/personal learning network (PLN) important	**2.9**	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3
Desire for 'feedback' from me	**2.6**	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
11. Observer effect	**Mean**								
Initial impact of observer effect (3=high; 1=low)	**2.0**	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1